THE HISTORY OF MISSIONS;

OR, OF THE

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY

AMONG THE HEATHEN,

SINCE THE REFORMATION.

By The Rev. WILLIAM BROWN, M. D.

WITH

ADDITIONAL NOTES, AND A MAP OF THE WORLD.

ALSO,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST INTRODUCTION OF THE GOSPEL INTO THE BRITISH ISLES.

By ADAM CLARKE, LL. D. F. S. A. &c. &c.

"Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."—Dan. xii. 4.

"And this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come.—Matt. xxiv. 14.

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HISTORY

OF THE

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY

AMONG THE

HEATHEN.

CHAPTER VI.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE UNITED BRETHREN.

SECTION V.

TARTARY.*

IN 1735, David Nitschman, junior, was sent to St. Petersburg, the metropolis of Russia, with the view of proceeding on a mission to the Calmuc Tartars, and to the descendants of the Bohemian Brethren, who, it was reported, still resided in the mountains of Caucasus. In this attempt, however, he failed; but yet he obtained some important infor-

* Tartary was formerly a general name for all that country bounded on the south and southwest by Persia Tibet and China, and extending to the Northern Ocean; and from the Black Sea, and the bounds of European Russia to the Eastern Ocean. It is now divided into Chinese or Eastern Tartary and Independent or Western Tartary. The only division, generally arises from the different tribes by which it is inhabited; of these the principal are the Manchews in the east, the Moguls in the middle, and the Calmucs in the west. The country of the Manchew Tartars, who are more immediately under the authority of China, has been divided by the Chinese into three great governments, Chinyang, Korin, and Tsitchicar; which take their names from those of their chief towns. To these may be added the province or

mation by means of the visit, and formed a friendly acquaintance with a clergyman in that city, who was of great service to three missionaries destined for Lapland, who, in 17 .8, were thrown into prison by the Russian government.*

In 1742, Conrade Lange set off on a journey to China, together with two others of the Brethren, Zechariah Hirschel, and Michael Kund, who were intended as missionaries

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

peninsula of Corea, which has been for several centuries under the dominion of the Chinese.

"The Mogul Tartars are naturally easy and cheerful, and scarcely ever experience either care or melancholy. They are very hospitable to each other, and likewise to strangers who put themselves under their protection. The various tribes of these Tartars form wandering hordes and live in tents, which they remove, according as the temperature of the seasons, or the wants of their flocks require. They live in their tents amid the dirt and dung of their flocks. They are naturally enemies of labour, and will not take the trouble of cultivating the earth, it would seem, from a spirit of pride; for when the Missionaries asked them why they did not cultivate at least some gardens, they answered that '*the grass was for beasts and beasts for man.*' One of their greatest pleasures is to get themselves intoxicated on a kind of spirituous liquor they distil from sour milk. Many of the Tartar tribes profess the religion of the Tibetians, which seems to be the schismatical offspring of that of the Hindoos, originating from one of that faith a disciple of Boodh, who first broached the doctrine which now prevails over all Tartary. Though it differs from the Hindoo in many of its outward forms, yet it is very similar to the religion of Brahma.

"The Tartars make their pilgrimages frequently and in great numbers, from the distance sometimes of a thousand miles to Putola, and Teeshoo Loomboo, to worship the Lama. Another Religion, prevailing among them; is that of Schamanism. This sect believe in one Supreme God, the creator of all things, but disbelieve his particular providence, and knowledge of human actions. They believe that the Supreme Being has delegated the administration of the World to a number of inferior Deities. Among the Schamanes, women are supposed to be vastly inferior to men, in consequence of which they are treated with severity and contempt.

"The various tribes of Tartars from the Wolga to Korea, on the Sea of Japan, encrease in their superstitious worship of their sovereign Pontiff, the Grand Lama, in proportion to their distance from him. They believe him to be immortal, and absolutely regard him as the Deity himself, possessing all knowledge and virtue.

"Every year they come up from different parts, to worship at his shrine; the Chinese Emperor, who is a Manchew Tartar, though the Lama is tributary to him, yet he acknowledges him in his religious capacity, and actually maintains his vicegerent sent from Tibet in the palace of Peking. The opinion of the most orthodox is, that when the Grand

to the Calmuc Tartars. Having, however, applied for a passport on their arrival at Petersburg, they experienced the same treatment as their brethren destined to Lapland, being apprehended as suspicious persons, and thrown into prison. In this manner they were detained, either more or less at liberty, till 1747, when they were dismissed, and returned to Germany.*

Still, however the Brethren were not discouraged; and happily more propitious times at length arrived. The empress of Russia having lately passed an edict, granting the members of their church full permission to settle in her dominions, and promising them complete liberty of conscience, several of the Brethren were sent, in 1765, to establish a colony in the kingdom of Astrachan, with a particular view to the introduction of Christianity among the neighbouring Tartar tribes. Having arrived at St. Petersburg, they proceeded on their journey in company with an imperial Aulic counsellor, by the way of Moscow: and after travelling nearly two thousand miles, they arrived at a place about twenty-four miles below Czarizin, where they resolved to fix their residence. Here they began, with the assistance of the Russian carpenters, to erect the buildings necessary for their accommodation, to cultivate the ground, and to work at their respective trades, with a view to the support of the colony.†

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren. † Ibid

Lama seems to die either of old age or infirmity, his soul enters into a younger and more sound body, and is recognized only by the inferior Lamas. It was in the year 1774, that the Grand Lama was an infant, which had been discovered but a little before by the Teeshoo Lama, who was next to him in authority; and in the year 1783, Mr. Turner, the Embassador to Tibet, informs that Teeshoo Lama, was also an infant.

"The bodies of the Sovereign Lamas are at their decease deposited in shrines, which are considered sacred and are approached with devotional exercises: Whereas the dead bodies of the common people are thrown within walled areas, which are left open at the top, and have passages at the bottom to admit carniverous birds, and beasts. No attention is paid to their bodies, but to get them to the most suitable place where they may be torn to pieces by the devouring animals.

As this place, which they called Sarepta, was on the high road from St. Petersburg, by way of Astrachan, to Persia and the East Indies, the Brethren received frequent visits from travellers and other strangers who happened to pass in that direction. Among others, there was a merchant from Georgia, who, in conversing with them concerning the several tribes which inhabit the mountains of Caucasus, mentioned, among the rest, the Tschecks, who, according to their own account, were some hundred years ago driven thither from Europe, and who still retained their own language, preserved their peculiar customs, and professed the Christian religion; but being no longer able to read the books of their forefathers, which were deposited in large strong built churches, which now stood empty, they looked forward to a period when the use of them and their public worship would be restored. As the Bohemians call themselves Tschecks, the Brethren naturally conjectured that these were probably the descendants of their countrymen, who, about the end of the fifteenth century, were banished from Moravia on account of their religion, and were said to have gone to Moldavia, and from thence to the mountains of Caucasus.*

Impressed with this idea, the Brethren were anxious to obtain some further information respecting these unfortunate people. With this view, two of them went to Astrachan in 1768, and procured from the governor letters of recommendation to the Russian commanders, with orders to give them some Cossacks as a guard, and a Tartar for their interpreter in their journey. On arriving, however, at Mostok, the frontier fortress, where they were only four days journey from the country which the Tschecks were said to inhabit, they were advised by the commandant of that place, not to proceed further, as the Kabardian Tartars were approaching with forty thousand men, who would in all probability take them prisoners and carry them into slavery. Painful as this

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

intelligence was, the Brethren had no alternative but to relinquish the enterprise for the present. They therefore, returned to Astrachan, determined to embrace the earliest opportunity of renewing the search; and, in the meanwhile, they employed themselves in learning the Tartar language.*

It was not long before the Brethren commenced an acquaintance with the Calmuc Tartars, who inhabit a vast tract of country on both sides of the Wolga. Soon after their arrival, a horde of these barbarians came and encamped on their land; and though this was at first a source of no small trouble to them, yet the colonists, by their kind and affable behaviour, quickly gained the confidence and friendship of their visitors. The building of Sarepta was a source of much amusement to the Tartars. They came thither in great numbers viewed all the various operations, attended the meetings of the Brethren, and even seemed pleased with them. They were particularly happy when a physician arrived in the settlement. Many of them became his patients, among whom was one of their princes, who, with his train, pitched his winter quarters in the neighbourhood. By means of the Brethren's affectionate treatment of him, and the assiduous attention of the physician, he came to place the utmost confidence in them. He formed a particular attachment to two of them, who often visited him with the view of learning the language; and, on his departure, he offered, if they would go with him into the Great Steppe, (an immense plain covered with long grass,) to take them under his protection, and to furnish them with the means of acquiring the language. This offer the Brethren accepted with joy; and during the two following years, they resided among the Tartars, conforming to their manner of life, and accompanying them in their migrations from place to place with their tents and cattle. They neglected no opportunity of making known the gospel to them; but

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

though they themselves were treated with civility and friendship, their message was not received by the poor barbarians. The great Derbet horde at length retired from that part of the country in 1774, and only a few straggling families remained in the neighbourhood of Sarepta.*

Besides embracing every opportunity of cultivating a friendly correspondence with the Tartars, several of the Brethren continued to apply with unremitting diligence to the study of the language, in the hope of at length finding an opportunity of preaching the gospel among them. With this view they procured some of their books, (for it seems the Calmucs are not altogether ignorant of the use of letters), but among these there was neither grammar nor dictionary, nor any other work of an elementary nature. The assistance they derived from them was therefore comparatively small; and they soon perceived that without a master it would be impossible to make much progress. Happily, however, they at length found a Calmuc teacher willing to attend them several hours a day; and under him, two of the Brethren made considerable proficiency in the study of this barbarous dialect.†

In 1781, Grabsch and Gruhl, two of the Brethren, renewed the attempt to visit the Tschecks on the mountains of Caucasus. After passing through several Tartar towns, they arrived at Beregee, the place where professor Gmelin was imprisoned and died. Here, had it not been for their guide, they would not have been admitted into any house, all the inhabitants of the place being zealous bigotted Mahommedans, and invetrate in their hatred of heretics; but at length one of them, to oblige their conductor, agreed to give them lodgings. Usmei Khan, the prince of the country, happening to be in the town at this very time, could scarcely be persuaded that the account which Grabsch gave of himself was true, but suspected that he was either a physician,

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren. Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 191.
† Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 192, 193.

a rich, or a learned man. One of the Tartar princes even told the missionary very gravely, that he had heard that if a man's body was ripped up, he could heal him in a very short time. Usmei Khan being at length satisfied with regard to their design, took them in his retinue to the place of his residence, and then sent them forward, under the care of a guide, to Kubascha, the principal seat of the Tschecks.*

Here they arrived the same day; but their disappointment may be more easily conceived than described, when, on entering the town, they heard the cry of the Mollahs on the turrets of the mosques, summoning the people to prayers, an indubitable proof that the inhabitants were Mahommedans. Grabsch, however, proceeded to make enquiry concerning their origin, their religion, their language, and their books; he visited every house in the town, and left no means untried, in order to ascertain whether any memorials of Christianity might yet remain among them. He discovered the ruins of three churches, and an inscription over the door of one of them, cut in stone, which neither he nor the inhabitants were able fully to decypher; only in the middle of it, the number 1215, in the usual Arabic figures, was still legible. Not far from this ruin stood a noble stately church, built of hewn stone, and decorated with a profusion of architectural ornaments, but now converted into dwelling-houses, and divided into five stories. On the top of this building, several inscriptions in stone were pointed out to him, but he could not discover in them the smallest resemblance to any letters with which he was acquainted. It further appeared, that the inhabitants had no longer any books written in the characters used by their ancestors: They now employed the Arabic alphabet in writing their own language as well as the Turkish and Tartar. Their forefathers, they acknowledged, were originally Christians; but upwards of three hundred years ago they embraced the religion of Ma-

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 363.

hommed; and now, they thanked God, that he had directed them in the right path to heaven. Some of them, however, expressed great regard for the missionary, and Mahmud, his host, assured him, that whenever he came to Kubascha, he would consider him, as his brother: "What," said Grabsch, "though I do not turn Mussulman?"—"O, all that goes for nothing," replied Mahmud.*

In returning home, the Brethren were informed of a village three days journey from Shirvan, where there was a congregation of Christians, who were said to be the descendants of foreigners; and though the prince of the place had endeavoured, both by threatenings and persecution, to compel them to embrace the Mahommedan faith, yet had they with the utmost steadfastness, maintained the profession of their own religion. Anxious as the Brethern were to visit these people, it was not in their power at present. They saw, however, a man from that village, who informed them that they came originally from Georgia, and were members partly of the Georgian, partly of the Armenian church.†

Since that period, the Brethren have made various attempts to introduce the gospel among the Calmuc Tartars; but hitherto with little appearance of success. They are a people who live contented with their priests and their religion; are remarkably easy, mild and cheerful in their dispositions, generally much more so indeed than the nominal Christians in their neighbourhood. They are proud of their religious creed, and frequently say, that though every nation has a right to follow their own way of obtaining the Chief Good; yet theirs must needs be the best, since it shews a man how he may become a god. When they wish to flatter the Brethren, they remark, that their method of obtaining happiness is not unlike that of the Calmucs; and they never fail, on these occasions, to quote their Burchans or deceased saints, whom they allege to have performed works very similar to the miracles of our Saviour. The

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 365, 366. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 368.

doctrine of transmigration is one of the articles of their creed; and with regard to future punishment, their only dread is lest their souls should pass into the body of some of the inferior animals, or perhaps be sent to hell for a season. They say that they desire no other happiness hereafter, but such as may be enjoyed on earth, as riches, cattle, furniture, &c. If a missionary grow warm in speaking to them on the subject of religion, they laugh at him, for what they call his weakness; for according to them, one of the greatest virtues a man can possess, is to remain cool and composed on every occasion, and under all circumstances; and hence they uniformly endeavour to throw their opponent off his guard, by sneering and provoking expressions.*

Finding that so little could be effected among the older Calmucs, the Brethren have of late turned their attention to the education of the children.† In 1804, the Kirgisean Tartars were reduced to such distress for want of the necessaries of life, that they offered to sell their children; and on this occasion the court of St. Petersburgh proposed to purchase a number of them, and to send them to Sarepta to be trained up in the principles of Christianity, and the arts of civilized life. To this proposal the Brethren readily assented, offering to take forty or fifty of these children;‡ but this measure, for what reason does not appear, was never carried into effect. In 1808, however, the Brethren themselves ransomed four girls from the Kirgisean Tartars; and having had the satisfaction to see them grow up in the fear of the Lord, they baptized them two years afterwards.—These, and a poor blind Calmuc girl left to perish on the road, about thirty years before, who was brought into the settlement, and trained up in the Christian faith, are the only individuals of the Tartar nation whom they have received into the church. The Brethren, however, have been visited by many of the German colonists, who have settled in

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 105; vol. ii. p. 115, 197.

† Ibid. vol. iv. 213. ‡ Religious Monitor, vol. iv. p. 270.

great numbers on the Wolga, and have been of considerable use to them, particularly in providing most of them with Christian ministers.* Of late they have also begun a translation of the New Testament into the Calmuc language; and by the last accounts they had finished the Gospel according to Matthew.†

SECTION VI.

Persia.‡

IN the spring of 1747, Christian Frederick William Hocker, a physician, and J. Rueffer, a surgeon, set off on a mission to the East, with the view of visiting the Gebri, or

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 193; vol. iii p. 221; vol. v. p. 14.

† Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1813, p. 33.

‡ The Persians are chiefly of the Mahommedan Religion of the sect of Ali, whom the Turks, who follow the succession of Omar and Abu Bekr call heretics. Their religion is considered more vain and sensual than that of the Turks, and in many things resembles the superstitions of the Brahmins. A sect called the Guebres, or Gaurs pretend to be the disciples of Zoroaster, the father of the Magi. There are traces of their both having believed in the pure essence of the Supreme Being. There is a place a small distance from Baku, a city in the northern part of Persia, where the ground is of a combustible nature, on which account it is visited by the Gaurs with religious awe. This ground is impregnated with inflammatory substances, and contains, it is said, several small temples; in which the Gaurs pretend to preserve the sacred flame of the universal fire. The Mahommedans are the declared enemies of the Gaurs, who were banished out of Persia by Shah Abbas.

"The long wars between the Persians and Romans seem early to have driven the ancient Christians into Persia and the neighbouring countries. Thence it is that we find some notions of the distinguishing traits of Christianity in their Religion, such as the Trinity—certain moral duties, and the sacrificing of some of their lusts or passions to God."

The Christian religion even flourished in Persia until the Mahommedans obtained the ascendancy about the close of the seventh century. Hence we find the Persian Christians A. D. 325 represented in the council of Nice by their Bishop.

There are several circumstances that would facilitate, particularly at this time, a christian mission into Persia, viz.

First, the Christian Religion, in form at least, has existed there for

Gaures,‡ who resided in Persia, and were supposed by some to be the posterity of the Magi, or Wise men who came to Bethlehem at the birth of our Saviour.* Upon their arrival at Aleppo, they were strongly dissuaded by various European gentlemen, to whom they were introduced in that city, from prosecuting their journey, on account of the anarchy and distress in which Persia was then plunged by Nadir Shah, who, among his other cruelties, had caused numbers of the Jews and Armenians to be burnt alive, because they would not satisfy his rapacious demands for money.† But notwithstanding these alarming representations, the Brethren determined to persist in their original design.

Afterwards, indeed, when they heard many new frightful reports from Persia, particularly how the usurper had plun-

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 381. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 384.

‡ The Grebi, or Gaures, we suppose are the same as the Persees, or worshippers of fire.

many centuries, and rendered many of its maxims, and peculiarities familiar to the natives.

2ndly There has been a desire expressed by several of their sovereigns, and a warm desire by the people generally, to have the Bible translated into their language, which, with the Arabic, are the most polite, classical, and universally cultivated in the Asiatic countries, of any of the oriental languages.

3rdly. This translation was going on at Cawnpore, in Bengal, three or four years ago, under the superintendance of the Rev. Henry Martyn, by the immediate attention of *Sabat*§ the Arabian convert to christianity, with several of his native brethren; and, if it has not met with any casual interruption, must be nearly, if not wholly finished by this time.

4thly. The Persians are not very zealous for any particular religious creed—are very careless of the Mahommedan Faith, and by the Turks generally considered in the light of heretics:—and

5thly. They are a very hospitable people, and it is a saying among them, that "every meal a stranger partakes with them brings a blessing upon their house." Indeed, their affability and politeness to European travellers, and their natural fondness of the manners and customs of christianized countries, clearly evince that in Persia, there is now a large field for missionary labours, "white, already to harvest."

§ Sabat was converted from the Mahommedan to the Christian Faith, by seeing his intimate friend Abdallah suffer martyrdom for his firm attachment to the truths of the gospel.—See Dr. Buchanan's Sermon entitled the Star in the East.

dered Ispahan, the capital of the empire, and Kerman, the principal seat of the Gaures; that in the latter place he was so inhuman as to erect three pyramids of men's heads; and that, in consequence of his unparalleled cruelties, the whole country was in a state of rebellion, Hocker was inclined to go to Bassora, and there wait a more convenient season for executing their design: But Rueffer rather proposed going to Bagdad, to which the other consented, on condition, that should they find no opportunity of travelling from thence to Persia, they would then proceed to Bassora.*

Having provided themselves with two camels, and a variety of other necessary articles as pots, dishes, clothes, coffee, biscuit, &c. they left Aleppo, about the end of August, with the caravan destined for the East, consisting of no fewer than fifteen hundred camels. In passing through the desart, they usually set off about sun-rise, and travelled till noon, when they stopped for an hour, and prepared some coffee for dinner. They afterwards pursued their journey till sun-set, when they again halted, and rested till a little after midnight. Their supper consisted of hard boiled rice, with melted butter; and though it was an unsavoury dish, yet hunger rendered it palatable, and even delicious. Their drink was muddy stinking water, which they were obliged to strain through a cloth before it was fit for use. After travelling about a fortnight in this manner, they arrived at Cowis, a place where the caravan usually divided into two, one part going to Bagdad, the other to Bassora; but, to their great disappointment, the whole, in this instance, proceeded to Bassora. They, therefore, went forward to Bagdad, in company with four Jews who were travelling thither; and, on their arrival in that city, they learned that a caravan was about to set off for Persia.† They accordingly joined it without delay, and proceeded a considerable way on their journey without molestation; but, on the twenty-third of October, they were attacked by the Curdes, a band of thieves

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 388. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 387.

who infest that part of the country to the great annoyance of travellers. They had set out as usual before sun-rise; and this day their way was first over a large hill, and then through a valley along the foot of the hills. The armed men, who were between fifty and sixty in number, had stopped commodiously in the valley, to wait till the whole caravan had passed over the hill. Our travellers, however, had scarcely passed it, when they heard a most hideous cry behind them on another hill, and on looking about, they perceived a numerous band of Curdes running straight toward them. A few of them were mounted, armed with sabres and javelins; but most of them were on foot, and had chiefly javelins and clubs, so that if the people belonging to the caravan had possessed courage and a good leader, they might easily have repelled them, for there were only about two hundred of this undisciplined band. But as they retreated in full gallop over the hill, after firing only a few shots, those who had only asses or mules were left an easy prey to the robbers. Before Hocker was aware, he was pierced in the back with a javelin, and while he turned and looked about, he received another stab in his right side; but providentially they were in such a direction, that they both struck against his ribs, and thus were prevented from doing him any material injury. The latter, however, came with such violence, that he fell down the hill, upon which one of the robbers followed him, and before he had time to rise, aimed a stroke at his face, but though he received a pretty severe wound in the chin, he did not lose it, as some of the caravan did their ears, while others had their skulls fractured. Hocker, when he arose, suffered the robber and his companions to take all his money and clothes to his very shirt and breeches, which they did not offer to seize. As soon as the ruffians left him, he ran forward as fast as he could; but before he was aware, he received another violent stroke on the back of his neck, from one of the banditti who lay in wait for him, so that for a time he lost all recollection, and fell almost

lifeless to the ground. The robber, however, took nothing from him but the watch left in his pocket. Hocker then fell into the hands of a third, who stripped him of his stockings and boots. A fourth now came up and robbed him of his breeches, but yet he had the civility to leave him two pair of old drawers. From the place where they were plundered, they had to travel about fifteen English miles to the nearest habitation, and towards this quarter each made the best of his way. As Hocker was barefooted, his body was in a short time roasted as it were by the heat of the sun, and his feet were extremely sore from the hardness of the road; but yet the hope of reaching a place of safety supported his strength and courage. On his arrival he found many of his fellow travellers naked like himself, and spent with fatigue, hunger, and thirst. His first concern was to find his brother Rueffer, who was no less anxiously seeking for him, and if the Persians had not hindred him, would certainly have returned to the place where they were robbed. Hocker at last discovered him coming towards him, but for some time did not know him, stripped as he was of all his clothes. He was not, however, wounded; for as soon as he saw the robbers running up to him, brandishing their clubs, he made signs to them to take all he had, begging only for his instrument for bleeding. Thus one after another stripped him till he was left perfectly naked. One of the Persians furnished him with a piece of cloth to bind round his waist; and Hocker, soon as he saw him, gave him a pair of his drawers. Ahach Aly Beg, who took them with him, and another Persian called Hassen Aly Beg, were so kind as to furnish him with an old waistcoat and sandals, and brought them to a house, where, as it was cold, they were glad to find a warm chamber, and some bread and grapes for their supper. Rueffer's body, however, was so full of sores and blisters, occasioned by the burning heat of the sun, that for many nights he could not shut his eyes for the pain. In general, the Persians belonging to the caravan behaved toward them with

great kindness. The two persons already mentioned would have purchased asses for them, but as they could not pay for them, they chose rather to walk.*

On the following day, the Brethren set forward on their journey; but scarcely had a week elapsed, when they were again attacked by another gang of robbers, who rushed upon them with drawn sabres, and stripped them of the few articles they had left. Hocker saved only a pair of torn drawers, Rueffer an old waistcoat. Their sufferings for some days were so great, that it is impossible to describe them. They had nothing for food but bread and water; and Hocker caught a violent flux from the difference of temperature between the night and the day. It was considered by them as a great mercy, that for a few nights they were permitted to sleep in a stable, though without either fire or covering. Hocker, at last, obtained some kind of dress for himself, but as it consisted of horse hair and cotton, it tore his skin, and was extremely painful. Happily, they at length arrived at Ispahan, and were received with a friendly manner by some fathers of the Roman Catholic Church, who lived in that neighbourhood, and particularly by Mr. Pierson, the English resident, who took them into his house, and supplied them with clothes, and such other articles as they needed.†

On mentioning to this gentleman their design of visiting the Gaures, he dissuaded them in the strongest manner from making the attempt at that time, as the whole country was in a state of the greatest anarchy and distress. He told them Nadir Shah, and after him the Affghans, had ransacked and plundered Kerman; that the Gaures in that quarter were a good, honest, industrious kind of people, but that most of them had either been massacred or expelled from the country; and that the roads to that place were still more dangerous, from the numerous gangs of robbers which infested them, than even those they had lately travelled. These representations of the English resident were confirmed from every

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 392. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 395.

quarter, and destroyed all the Brethren's hopes of being soon able to visit the Gaures. They might, indeed, have settled at Ispahan in a medical capacity, with the fairest prospect of success, as the inhabitants of Persia have a most exalted idea of the learning and skill of physicians from Europe; but as they had no hope of being useful in their principal character as missionaries, they resolved to return to Grand Cairo in Egypt, and there to wait the advice of their Brethren.*

In June 1784, the two missionaries left Ispahan; but they had not proceeded far on their journey, when the caravan was surprised and robbed by another gang of banditti. They now lost the third time every farthing they possessed, together with most of their clothes. In consequence of this, they came to Bender Buscher in rags and in debt; but here they found a friend in the Dutch agent, who took them under his care, kindly paid their debts, and forwarded them on their journey to Bassora. From thence they afterwards proceeded to Egypt; but while they were in that country, Rueffer died at Damietta, and was interred in the burying ground of the Greeks. Hocker, being thus deprived of his fellow traveller, returned to Europe, where he arrived in February 1750, after an absence of about three years.† Thus terminated the plan of the Brethren for introducing the gospel among the Gaures in Persia.‡

SECTION VII.

Egypt.§

THE United Brethren resolved, so early as 1789, to send one of their members into Abyssinia, with the view of form-

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 395. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 399. ‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 402, 404.

§ "The descendants of the original Egyptians are an ill looking slovenly people, immersed in ignorance and distinguished by the name of Copts. Their ancestors were once christians, and, in general, they

ing a correspondence with the Christian church in that country, and in the hope of being useful in promoting its best interests. The design, however, was relinquished at that time; but Dr. Hocker, having taken the subject into serious consideration, after his return from Persia, offered to go to Grand Cairo, and there to wait for an opportunity of entering Abyssinia. His plan was to practice as a physician in that city, to learn the Arabic language, to establish a correspondence with the Patriarch of the Copts, by whom the Abuna, or metropolitan of Abyssinia, is consecrated; and through him to form an acquaintance with the Abuna him-

still pretend to be of that religion; but Mahommedanism is the prevailing religion among the natives. Those who live at any considerable distance from the Nile, consist of Arabs, of a deep, swarthy complexion; they in general live in tents, tend their flocks, and have no fixed place of abode. The Turks who reside in Egypt retain all the Ottoman insolence and pride, and the Turkish habit, to distinguish themselves from the Arabs and Copts. The dress of the women is tawdry and unbecoming. The women are not admitted into the society of men, even at the table. When the rich are desirous of dining with one of their wives, they give her previous notice, when she accordingly prepares the most delicate dishes, and receives her lord with the greatest attention and respect. The lower class of wives usually remain standing, or seated in a corner of the room, while their husband is at dinner, and wait on him. The bulk of the Mahommedans are enthusiasts, and have among them their santos, or persons who pretend to a superior degree of holiness, and, without any ceremony, intrude into the best houses, where it would be dangerous to turn them out. The Egyptian Turks mind religious affairs very little. The Copts profess themselves to be Christians of the Greek church, but they embrace transubstantiation; in which, and other points, the Catholics of Cairo, think they approach to their faith nearer than the Greeks. They have adopted from the Mahommedans the custom of frequent prostrations during divine service, ablutions and other ceremonies In religious and other matters they are under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria, who, by the dint of money, generally purchases a protection at the Ottoman court."

The Egyptians have exchanged their literary and scientific knowledge for the bigotry, gross ignorance, and superstition, of their Mahommedan rulers, the caliphs. These waged war against all kinds of literature, but the Koran; and it is, with good authority, said, that when they took possession of Alexandria, which contained the greatest library in the world, its valuable contents were applied for a considerable time to the use of fuel to cook their victuals. "All the learning, therefore, of the modern Egyptians, consists in a small acquaintance with mercantile arithmetic necessary for business, the jargon of astrology, a little superficial knowledge of medicine, and of the Mahommedan religion."

self, and to offer him the services of the church of the Brethren. After receiving his credentials from count Zinzendorf to the Patriarch of the Copts, Dr. Hocker left London in May 1752, and in August following he arrived safe at Grand Cairo. Here he hired a house for himself, in which he entertained for some time two of the students who were sent by the Institution at Halle, in Saxony, to attempt the conversion of the Jews; and he, at the same time, formed a friendly acquaintance with most of the Europeans who were resident in that city.*

After acquiring such a knowledge of the Arabic language as to be able to write it with tolerable correctness, he translated into it his credentials, and delivered them to the Patriarch of the Copts, with whom he had many agreeable conversations concerning the origin, constitution and doctrine of the Brethren's church, as well as concerning the state of the Coptic and Abyssinian churches. About a fortnight after, he received an answer to his letter, of which the following is an extract: "In the name of the merciful and gracious God. In God is salvation. From Mark,† the servant of the servants of the Lord. The peace of our Lord God, and the Captain of our salvation Jesus Christ, which he in an upper room at Zion poured forth upon the assembly of excellent disciples and apostles. May he pour out this peace upon the beloved, excellent, and experienced, brother, the venerable bishop our father Aloysius,‡ the liturgist of the unity of the Brethren. This is to testify, beloved brother, that the blessed son and venerable deacon, Irenæus§ Hocker, has delivered unto us your letter, which was full of

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

† The Patriarchs of the Copts, who have also the title of Patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Abyssinia, and Nubia, are all called after the Evangelist Mark, who is considered as the founder of the church of Alexandria. This was Mark the hundred and sixth.

‡ Lewis, i. e. count Zinzendorf.

§ Frederick, or, in German, Friedrich, i. e. Rich in peace.

affectionate cordial love. We have read it; and it became unto us a taste of your love to all Christians. We, in like manner, pray God for you, and for all the Christian people, that he may exalt the glory of the Christians in the whole habitable world, through the nutrition of his life giving cross."*

With regard to Abyssinia, Dr. Hocker occasionally made enquiries of such persons as he supposed might be able to give him any information concerning the state of that country; and he learned, among other particulars, that at that time a Greek was at the helm of government, and that he endeavoured to draw foreigners into the kingdom. In the meanwhile, a French gentleman arrived at Cairo with a great retinue, designing to proceed up the Nile, and to penetrate into Abyssinia. He endeavoured to persuade Hocker to accompany him; but the doctor declined the proposal, as he knew the passage up the Nile was impracticable on account of the immense cataracts on that river; and accordingly this gentleman, after meeting with many difficulties, and incurring much expense, was obliged to return without effecting his purpose. There was, in fact, no way of entering Abyssinia, but to proceed by the Red Sea to the island of Massuah, and from thence to Godar, the capital of the country. But as all the ports in that quarter were in the hands of the Turks, who would scarcely allow a European to enter them, Hocker determined to provide himself with a firman or pass from the Grand Seignior, in order to remove this obstruction. He accordingly proceeded in the spring of 1754 to Constantinople; and though the plague was then raging in that city, he succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations. Besides obtaining a firman from the Grand Seignior, he procured a rescript from the Grand Vizier to the Bashaw of Jidda on the Red Sea, a letter from the sheriff at Constantinople to the sheriff at Cairo, some letters of introduction from several European ambassadors to the consuls of their res-

* Cranz's History of the United Brethren.

pective nations, and likewise a recommendation from the British ambassador to the prime minister of Abyssinia, who had once been in the service of the English. With these he returned to Egypt, intending to proceed, as soon as possible, on his voyage. Meanwhile, however, the Grand Seignior died, in consequence of which the firman became of no use. Egypt now became the theatre of great disturbances and danger; and therefore Hocker determined to go back to Europe, and to wait the return of more peaceful times. He accordingly left Cairo in the beginning of May 1755; and after landing at Leghorn, he proceeded by way of Vienna, and through Bohemia to Herrnhuth, the principal seat of the Brethren, where he arrived in September following *

Dr. Hocker had not been long in Europe, when he determined to renew the important, yet arduous attempt. In 1756, he returned to Cairo, accompanied by George Pilder, a student of divinity from the seminary of the Brethren. On their arrival in that city, they received intelligence that the king of Abyssinia was dead; that his sucessor was a prince only seven years old; and that all the Greeks had been compelled to leave the country. They met, however, with a friendly reception from the Patriarch of the Copts; and, during their stay, they had some useful conversation with him and his clergy. One day, when they attended divine service in the Coptic church, the Patriarch observing them among the people, sent for them to partake with them in the breaking of bread, which among the Copts is a different ordinance from the Lord's Supper. He afterwards took them into his house to attend the Agapæ, or love-feasts of the clergy: and on this occasion, there was much conversation concerning the church of the Brethren, with which they expressed their satisfaction. Afterwards, however, the Patriarch having heard various unfavourable reports of the Brethren, began to examine the missionaries concerning

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

several points of doctrine; nor would he give them a letter of recommendation to the Abuna of Abyssinia until he should receive from them an account in writing, of the origin, doctrine, liturgy, and constitution of the church to which they belonged. On these topics they were soon able to satisfy both the Patriarch and his clergy.*

Hitherto the Brethren had not been able to prosecute the chief design of their mission; but in the autumn of 1758, they at length set off for Abyssinia. Having crossed the country to Suez, they embarked on board a small Turkish vessel on the Red Sea; but after a tedious and troublesome voyage of eleven days, they were stranded on the island Hassane. The sailors made their escape in a boat, but the Brethren were obliged to remain on the wreck, which was almost entirely under water, and to wait for a considerable time in this perilous situation, until they were taken ashore. Twenty days they tarried on the island in perpetual danger of their lives from the rapacious Arabs, and even from their fellow travellers, who took it into their heads that they had vast treasures with them. Besides, they had saved little of their provisions from the wreck, and even fresh water was not to be had; so that from hunger and thirst, and from heat by day and cold by night, their situation was extremely distressing. Having left this place, they at length reached the port of Jidda, on the coast of Arabia. Here they contracted an acquaintance with two Turkish merchants whom the regent of Abyssinia had commissioned to bring a physician for the prime minister, who was then sick. Being earnestly solicited to accompany them, the Brethren would gladly have embraced so favourable an opportunity of entering the country; but, unfortunately, when the vessel was wrecked, they lost their chest of medicines, and various other necessary articles; and as they did not think it expedient to prepare remedies in a strange country, from unknown substances, they resolved to return to Cairo, to supply them-

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

selves with new medicines, and to come back the following year. Meanwhile, however, they transmitted by the merchants a letter to the Abuna John, the hundred and thirty-seventh, together with a copy of the epistle which count Zinzendorf had addressed to him.*

In April, 1759, the Brethren set off on their return to Egypt, by way of Limbo, where they found some of the articles which they had lost by the stranding of the vessel, but were at great expense in redeeming them. After narrowly escaping shipwreck again off the island Hassane, they at length arrived at Bossein in Upper Egypt. Before their arrival, however, the caravan had taken its departure; but this was a very providential circumstance for them, as it was attacked and plundered by a band of robbers. They now proceeded with a smaller caravan, by a different route from what was usual, to Guena on the Nile; and after being kindly entertained at Pharsus by some fathers of the church of Rome, they prosecuted their voyage along that river, in company with several barks, though not without considerable danger, as they had often to force their way through the midst of robbers. On reaching Cairo, they found that the plague had been raging in that city, and had swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. Both the Brethren were now sick. On this account, Pilder was soon after under the necessity of returning to Europe; and in 1761, Hocker was obliged to follow him without having been able to execute his purpose of penetrating into Abyssinia.†

Dr. Hocker, however, was not discouraged by these repeated disappointments, and resolved not to abandon the undertaking. He hoped, that in the patient exercise of his medical profession, a door might at length be opened for promoting the interests of religion, if not in Abyssinia, at least in Egypt. In 1768, he again set off for Grand Cairo, accompanied by Henry Danke, another of the Brethren. On their arrival, they found the whole country in a state of

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren. † Ibid.

terrible confusion, in consequence of the attempt of Aly Bey to mount the throne of Egypt, and to erect it into an independent kingdom. Hocker, however, was received in the most cordial manner by his old acquaintances, particularly by the Greek and Coptic clergy.*

In the meanwhile, Mr. John Antes, one of the Brethren, who was particularly distinguished for his mechanical genius, was appointed to join the missionaries in Egypt. In October 1769, he sailed from London; and after a voyage of three weeks, arrived at Larnica, in the island of Cyprus. Not being able to obtain a passage from this place to Egypt, he at length heard there was a vessel at Limasol, a port about fifteen leagues to the westward, bound for Alexandria; and though he was then extremely ill of an ague he had caught immediately after his arrival, he crept out of bed, packed up his luggage during the paroxysm of the fever, and prepared to take his departure. As his conductor spoke no language but Greek, the English consul procured him a muleteer who understood Italian to carry his luggage and provisions. He cautioned him, however, against his very guides, telling him they would murder their own parents if they could make any thing by it. The muleteer, in particular, had so much the aspect of a villain, that Mr. Antes charged a pair of pocket pistols before his eyes, and placed them in his belt, to shew the fellow he was perfectly on his guard. Thus equipped, he left Larnica in the dusk of the evening; but he had scarcely proceeded a mile, when it began to rain most furiously, attended with vivid flashes of lightning, and frequent peals of thunder. As he was but imperfectly sheltered from the storm in his Turkish dress, he threw a bed quilt which he had in his saddle over his head, and was thus led in a manner blindfolded, entirely at the mercy of his guides. After they had travelled three or four hours through a desert country, the muleteer, who had the charge of the luggage and the greater part of the provi-

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

sions, discovered among them a bottle of spirituous liquor, with which he made so very free, that he lost the command of his mule, and the animal taking advantage of this circumstance, ran back to the place from which it came, with the whole of its cargo. As the other guide endeavoured to assist him in catching it, he likewise forsook Mr. Antes, who, from the manner in which he was covered, did not discover his solitary situation, until after some time, he no longer heard his companions following him. He then uncovered himself; but it was so extremely dark, that except at short intervals, by means of the flashes of lightning, he could see nothing even at the distance of a yard. He now dismounted, and tied his mule by the bridle to some brush wood near the path, (for it was only like a sheep's track), and began to walk back, in the hope of finding at least one of the guides; but reflecting on the little probability there was of success, he returned to the place where he left his mule, generally feeling his road, except when he obtained a glance of it by means of the lightning. At last, when he got near the spot, the animal gave a sudden jerk, broke loose from the brushwood, and ran away; but as it had come from Limasol, it of course followed the road to that place. After standing a considerable time, he perceived, by means of the lightning, a person coming towards him mounted on an ass; but he soon discovered, with regret, it was neither of his guides. The man, on approaching him, muttered something in Greek; but not finding himself understood, he proceeded on his journey. After Mr. Antes, had remained long in a state of painful suspense, he saw his conductor return; but as they were ignorant of each other's language he could not enquire what had become of his luggage. On learning, however, that our traveller's mule had run away, the poor fellow dismounted from his beast, and made him get upon it, while he himself walked by his side, through a deep mire, and under a constant rain. After sometime, they discovered the runaway mule on the path before them, and were at

length successful in catching it. About midnight, they reached a mud-built cottage, and knocked at the door. Never in his life was Mr. Antes so happy to get under a roof; but on entering in, he found it was merely a shed, quite open on the other side. There was, however, a fire, and some men were lying on the ground around it. After he had taken a very hearty refreshment, the master of the house conducted him into a kind of room, furnished him with a great coat, and shewed him a place spread with a clean sheet, where he might take some rest. It was nothing but a large chest, but oppressed as he was with fatigue, he soon sunk into the arms of sleep, and rested most comfortably till about eight o'clock next morning, when his guide came in and made signs for him to rise and prepare for his journey.*

The day was extremely cold and disagreeable. What had fallen in rain, the night before, in the valley, proved to be snow on Mount Olympus, and the neighbouring hills. The sea was still greatly agitated, in consequence of the late storm, a circumstance which proved very harrassing to our travellers. About three miles from the village where they had lodged the road ran along the sands; and as the coast was perpendicular like a wall, and the waves rolled close on the shore, their legs were completely drenched in the water, which often reached even to the bellies of their mules. In this manner they travelled from morning till about four o'clock in the afternoon; and, indeed, Mr. Antes almost gave himself up for lost, not thinking he was able to stand the wet and cold any longer. He at length, however, plucked up courage, in the hope of warming himself by walking, as soon as they got clear of the waves. The moment this was the case, he alighted from his mule, but he soon found that he had not taken the exhausted state of his body into account, for after walking two or three hundred yards, he felt himself

*Antes' Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Egpytians, p. 55. Periodical Accounts, vol. v. p. 159.

unable to proceed further, and was obliged, with the assistance of his guide, to mount his mule again. At length, about nine o'clock at night, they arrived at Limasol, at the house of a Greek who acted as English consul at that place. Two days after, the muleteer likewise arrived, with the articles committed to his charge, except only a few trifles which he had purloined.*

After waiting about a week at Limasol, Mr. Antes embarked for Egypt, and in five days reached Alexandria; but as the plague had began to make its appearance in that city, he hastened away as quickly as possible to Rosetta. The voyage from thence to Cairo, is usually performed in three or four days; but in this instance it was no less than eighteen. Besides, at that time, it happened to rain very heavily, as it often does in the lower parts of the Delta, in the winter season. The vessel in which he embarked was old and crazy, and as the deck was far from water-tight, the rain penetrated freely through it, so that he could not sit dry even in the cabin. In a short time his very bed began to moulder under him, and he was obliged to suspend it with a cord, to allow the water to run off underneath. Even his provisions ran short. His Jannissary, or guide, had provided sufficient victuals for an ordinary voyage of five or six days, consisting of bread, fowls, &c. but as it was protracted so long, the bread by degrees became mouldy, and all the fowls were consumed. He endeavoured to procure some rice from the Arabs, but besides being very insipid, it was black and dirty as a coal. He likewise, though with difficulty, obtained some fowls; so that, on the whole, they had very scanty, and not the most agreeable fare. Besides, the wind was often so contrary and so boisterous, that they repeatedly lay at anchor, before some paltry village, four or five days together. When the sailors were urged to exert themselves, they always exclaimed: "It is from God! It is so written in the book of fate!" with other similar expressions. At length

* Antes' Observations, p. 58.

they arrived before Bulac, the harbour of Grand Cairo, where, as if to complete their misfortunes, the vessel stranded on a sand bank in the middle of the river, nor were they, with all their efforts, able to move her. Mr. Antes, however, got ashore in a boat, and proceeded to the house of his brethren Hocker and Danke, who gave him a most cordial reception after all his toils.*

In January 1773, Mr. Bruce, the celebrated traveller, who had penetrated into Abyssinia about four years before, returned safe to Cairo. As the Brethren were sent to Egypt chiefly with the view of visiting that country, they made various enquiries of him concerning the character of the inhabitants, their government, religion, manners, customs, &c. but from the accounts they received from him, they perceived, that unless some great revolution should take place, it would be in vain to think of establishing a mission in a kingdom so bigotted in its own faith, and so torn by anarchy and intestine divisions. Mr. Bruce informed them, that the hatred of the people to all Europeans, and especially to their priests, was so violent, that they would stone a missionary to death the moment he opened his lips on the subject of religion; that though he himself had employed various means to avoid suspicion, yet it was with the utmost difficulty he had escaped persecution on account of his creed, and even this would have been altogether impracticable, had he not constantly resided at court, and been protected by the king himself. These representations, which were afterwards confirmed by several Abyssinians themselves, destroyed all the hopes of the Brethren of being able to promote the interests of religion in that unhappy country.†

As the missionary Danke, who had made several visits to the Copts in Upper Egypt, was now dead, Mr. Antes proceeded to Behnesse for a few weeks to renew the correspondence with them. The Nile had then inundated the country, and accordingly the boatmen, after sailing a few

* Antes' Observations, p. 59. † Periodical Accounts, vol. v. p. 164.

days in the channel of the river, turned across the fields; and being now in no great danger of meeting with other boats, they began to display their character in its true colours; for such is the deceitfulness of their disposition, that though they may appear friendly and submissive while they are in town, they become extremely mischievous and insolent the moment they think themselves beyond the reach of controul. Thus they acted toward Mr. Antes. Taking advantage of his dress, they gave him out for a Turkish soldier, whenever it was possible to practice the statagem, and in this manner made use of him as a tool to oppress the country people, and to compel the chiefs of the villages to provide the best provisions, not only for him, but for the whole company. Having done this one evening, without his knowledge, he told them, when he discovered it, that he should certainly expose them if they ever did it again. They repeated the farce, however, the very next morning, and even gave him a Turkish name, by which he was addressed by the Sheik of the village. Being entirely in the power of these people, and as he knew that they would not have scrupled to have thrown him overboard, if he had offended them, he was obliged to let it pass, and not to contradict them, especially as the chief asked no questions.*

During his stay at Behnesse, Mr. Antes spoke to many of the Copts concerning the love of Christ Jesus to poor guilty man, entreating them to devote themselves to him, by whose name they were called, and to prove themselves as his faithful followers. They expressed their approbation of every thing he said; but it was too evident that though they had a custom of employing the phrases of scripture, yet most of them were unimpressed with its sacred principles. In his return to Cairo, the boat was twice attacked in the night by pilferers, who artfully approach the vessels by swimming under the water, snatch away whatever happens to lie within their reach, and suddenly disappear with their booty.†

* Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 165. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 166.

Soon after his return, Mr. Antes went to Alexandria, to meet with Messrs. Roller and Wienenger, two new missionaries who were expected from Europe, and to conduct them to Cairo. When the Brethren arrived, they were detained in that city for several weeks, and were obliged to lodge in the same house with some English travellers, among whom there was a medical man who boldly avowed the principles of infidelity, took pleasure in ridiculing the Bible, and was continually throwing out sarcasms against vital religion. As he was previously acquainted with Mr. Antes, he frequently visited the missionaries, appeared to observe them very narrowly, though at the same time he was at no pains to conceal his dislike of the gospel. The evening before the Brethren left Alexandria, he was sitting alone with Mr. Antes on the top of the house, when he began to address him in the following manner: "Sir, I must beg the favour of you to answer me one question. I have now observed you all very closely, for several weeks, under a variety of circumstances: You do not hang down your heads, nor look gloomy, like many persons who pretend to be religious; you are frank and cheerful, and yet you will not join in our conversation. There seems to be something which renders you proof against all temptations. Pray tell me what that is, and how you came by it." To this Mr. Antes replied: "Though I have always avoided forcing my sentiments upon you, as long as you appeared not to wish it, yet as you now ask me the question, I am willing to satisfy you. I have likewise closely observed you, and cannot but say that I often pitied you, for you seem to labour under the same disease as I once did. I have now heard many of your objections, and the reasons you assign for not giving credit to what is recorded in the Bible; yet you have never told me any thing new, for the same things passed through my mind when I was yet very young; but with all my reasoning I found no rest to my soul, and cannot but think that this is also the case with you." As he did not deny it, Mr. Antes continued: "I had read

the scriptures, that it is then only we can be convinced of the truth of the gospel, when we turn to Christ Jesus, who is set forth as our Saviour, sincerely desiring to be delivered from the slavery of sin. I now thought that if so great an object could be obtained, it was well worth my while to give it a fair trial, and to set about it in good earnest. I called upon the name of that Jesus, of whose power to save I had doubted, and obtained faith to trust in him for salvation. My deplorable condition, as estranged from God, alarmed me more than ever; and I saw that I should be forever lost, without an Almighty Saviour. This made me turn my whole heart to that Jesus against whom you seem to have now, as I had then, so much to object, entreating him to manifest himself to my soul, as my Redeemer. He did not leave me long in suspence. I soon experienced something which I cannot express to you in words, nor would you understand me as long as you do not experience it yourself. It was the peace of God in my heart, with a divine conviction that my sins were forgiven me. I began to feel great love towards him, and found that in him I had power to resist all my natural evil propensities. And now, though I cannot, indeed, look upon myself as a saint, but feel, with the apostle Paul, that in me dwelleth no good thing; yet whenever any thing of my natural depravity shews itself, I immediately apply to the same source for relief where I first found it, and am never disappointed. This is the cause why I and my brethren appear cheerful; for no one has more reason to be so, than he who feels the peace of God in his soul." When the doctor had heard this simple statement, he replied, with a deep sigh: "I fear there is something in what you have said." He afterwards shewed the Brethren great attention, rose next morning many hours before his usual time to see them away, took a very affectionate leave of them, and remained standing on the beach, looking after them, as long as it was possible to distinguish them. He promised to write to Mr. Antes, but the latter never received any letter

from him, nor did he learn what had become of him till many years afterwards, when an English gentleman, who was present when the accident happened, told him that he was killed at Naples by a fall from his horse.*

During the residence of the Brethren in Egypt, the country was in a state of great anarchy and confusion, and they, as well as other Europeans, occasionally experienced no small abuse, not only from the populace, but, in some instances, even from the men in power.† In November 1779, Mr. Antes had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a Bey, who, in the hope of extorting money from him, treated him in a most barbarous manner. As his occupation was chiefly of a sedentary nature, he found it necessary to take frequent exercise in the open air for the preservation of his health, especially as the place of their residence was in a close insalubrious part of the town. On this account he often went into the fields; but the heat of the climate was so enervating, that when he had no particular object to call forth his activity, he was always inclined to sit down and rest himself under the shade of a tree, by which means the chief aim of his walk was frustrated. To remedy this, he sometimes took a fowling piece with him, particularly in winter, when there was commonly plenty of game, such as snipes, wild ducks, geese, curlieus, quails, &c. in the marshes and ponds, which the inhabitants of every description are at perfect liberty to shoot, as the Turks are too indolent to fatigue themselves with that exercise. To meet the Beys, however, or other men in power, was dangerous, as they were always ready, under some pretext or other, to extort money, especially from Europeans, whom they generally supposed to be rich; but as they had commonly a numerous train with them, it was easy on that account, and from the flatness of the country, to perceive them at a consideral distance, and so avoid them. In this way Mr. Antes had eluded them for many years: but one day when he was out on this diversion, in

* Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 167. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 165.

company with the secretary to the Venetian consul, he and his companions were observed by some Mamelukes belonging to one Osman Bey, as they were returning home. The tyrant himself and his train were near at hand; but they were concealed from their view by some hillocks of rubbish, which are very numerous all round Cairo, several of which are so high as to overlook almost the whole city. Two of the Mamelukes immediately rode up towards them at full gallop, with drawn swords in their hands, followed by others on foot. They instantly stripped them of their fur coats, shawls, and whatever else of importance they had about them, and demanded, at the same time, one hundred maktubs, or Turkish zechins, each in value about seven shillings and six pence, threatening to carry them before their master unless they immediately complied with their wishes. Mr. Antes told them they had no such sum about them, and taking out his purse offered it to them. They at first took it, but finding that it contained only about twenty-five shillings, in small silver pieces, they threw it back again with disdain, crying "Da Sikab," that is, gold. As he knew that he had nothing to expect from them but ill treatment, he told them that he had no gold with him, but if they would go home with him, he would give them some. Upon this they cursed and swore, not being at liberty to leave their master. Meanwhile ten more of the ruffians came up on horseback, and repeated the same demand of gold, enforcing it with the threat of carrying him before the Bey if he refused to comply. To this Mr. Antes again answered, that he had none upon him, but that he would give them some if they would go with him. At last the principal man among them said: "Go you home and fetch your gold; but we will keep your companion here, and if you do not speedily return, we will cut off his head." As the poor Venetian, who could not speak a word of Arabic, was overwhelmed with fear and trembling, Mr. Antes could not think of leaving him in the hands of these merciless barba-

rians, and therefore he generously replied, that his friend might go and bring the money, but that he would remain with them. He had scarcely, however, advanced a few steps, when the servants, fell upon him, and stripped him of the few clothes he had left, so that he was obliged to fly nearly naked into the city. By this time the sun had set, and it began to grow dark; and as the Mamelukes durst not stay away from their master till the Venetian could return, one of them rode up to the tyrant, and told him they had seized a European, from whom some money might be obtained. As the fellow soon returned with an order to bring the prisoner before him, they placed him between their horses, and dragged him to the place where the Bey was sitting with his train about him. Mr. Antes, as he approached the chief, addressed him in the usual Arabic phrase: "I am under your protection." To this, if they are not maliciously inclined, they commonly reply: "You are welcome." But the Bey, instead of answering him at all, stared furiously at him, and then asked: "Who are you?" "I am an Englishman," replied Mr. Antes. "What are you doing here in the night?" said the tyrant: "You must be a thief. Aye, aye, most likely the one who did such a thing the other day." To this Mr. Antes answered: "I was entering the city gates half an hour before sun-set, when I was seized by your Mamelukes, and detained till now, when, indeed, it is dark, but yet not an hour after sun-set, the regular time for shutting the gates." Without saying any thing in reply, the Bey pointed to one of his officers, and ordered him to carry the prisoner to the castle, a building at some distance from the town, situated in an extensive sandy plain, where most of the Beys have houses, and exercise their Mamelukes.*

Every month, one of the Beys in rotation takes his station at this place, in order to guard the city by night against the depredations of the wandering Arabs; and it so happened

* Antes' Observations, p. 115. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 169.

that this was the turn of Osman Bey. Before he was removed to this place, Mr. Antes wished to say a few words more in his own behalf; but he was prevented by a horde of servants, who are always glad to have an opportunity of insulting a European. One gave him a kick on one side, a second on the other; one spat in his face, while another put a rope about his neck made of the filaments of the date tree, which is much rougher than horse hair. By this rope, a fellow in rags was ordered to drag him along, another on horse-back, armed with a sword and pistol, to guard him. In their way to the castle, they passed a gentle slope, with a large garden, surrounded by a mud-wall on the left; and as the gardens here consisted chiefly of irregular plantations of orange, lemon, and other prickly trees, through which no horse can pass, it occurred to Mr. Antes, that he might cut the rope by which he was held, and make his escape over the wall; but on searching for his knife, he found it was gone. Soon after, the fellow in rags advised him to give money to the guard, who would then let him escape. The word *money* operated like an electrical shock on the guard, who instantly came galloping up to him, and asked him whether he had any money left? Mr. Antes replied that he would give him what he had if he would let him go; and accordingly he gave him the purse which the Mamelukes had refused. Having looked at it, the ruffian put it into his pocket without saying a word, but still drove him forward till they arrived at the castle. Here Mr. Antes was thrown into a dungeon, half under ground; a large iron chain was put round his neck, secured at one end by a padlock, and fastened at the other to a piece of timber. In about half an hour the Bey himself arrived with his retinue, lighted flambeaus being carried before him. He alighted, walked up stairs into a room, sat down in a corner, while all his people placed themselves in a circle round him. Mr Antes was then sent for, unchained, and led up to the chamber by two men. In going up stairs, he heard the rattling of the

instruments used for the bastinado, and immediately guessed what was before him. On entering the room, he found a small neat Persian carpet spread for him, which was in fact a piece of civility, for the common people when about to receive the bastinado, are thrown on the bare ground. After asking him a question or two, the Bey exclaimed, "throw him down." Mr. Antes then enquired what he had done. "How, you dog," answered the tyrant, "dare you ask what you have done? Throw him down." The servants immediately threw him flat on his face, and with a strong staff, about six feet long, having a peice of an iron chain fixed to both ends, confined to his feet above the ancles. Two of them, one on each side, then twisted the staff and chain together, so as to turn up the soles of his feet; and being provided with what is called a corbage, which consists of a strap of the skin of the hippopotamus, about a yard in length, somewhat thicker than a man's finger, and very tough and hard, they waited for the orders of their master. When they had placed him in this position, an officer came and whispered in his ear, "do not suffer yourself to be beaten; give him a thousand dollars, and he will let you go." Mr. Antes, however, reflected, that should he now offer any thing, the Bey would probably send one of his men with him to receive it; and that he would be obliged to open, in the presence of this officer, his strong chest, in which he kept not only his own money, but considerable sums belonging to others, which he had received in payment for goods belonging to different merchants, and that the whole of this would, in all probability, be taken from him. Being determined, therefore, not to involve others in his misfortunes, he said "Mafish," that is, "no money;" upon which the Bey immediately ordered the servants to strike. They accordingly laid on at first pretty moderately; but yet Mr. Antes gave himself up for lost, considering that his life was in the hands of a capricious tyrant, to whose unrelenting cruelty many others had fallen a sacrifice. Having there-

fore no other refuge but the mercy of God, he commended his soul to him, and he experienced his gracious support on this trying occasion, in so remarkable a manner that the fear of death was entirely destroyed. After they had beaten him for some time, the officer, supposing probably that he might now have become more tractable, again whispered into his ear the word money, but now the sum was doubled. Mr. Antes again answered, "I have none here." They then laid on more roughly than before; every stroke now felt like the application of a red hot poker. At last the officer thinking that though he had no money, he might have some valuable goods, once more whispered in his ear something to that effect. As Mr. Antes knew that English fire-arms often attract their fancy, even more than money, he offered them an elegant blunderbuss, richly mounted with silver, which he could have got without opening his strong chest. The Bey having enquired what he said; the officer, lifting up his finger, exclaimed with a sneer, "only a blunderbuss." To this the tyrant replied, "beat the dog." They now began to lay on with all their might. The pain at first was excruciating beyond conception, but after some time all sensation ceased; it seemed only like beating a bag of wool. When the Bey at length perceived that no money could be extorted from him, he probably thought the prisoner might in fact be a poor man, and therefore ordered them to take him away. Upon this they loosed his feet; but yet he was obliged to walk down to the dungeon with the chain about his neck. In about half an hour, a messenger came with orders to bring him up again. The servants now took off the chain, and after carrying him till he was near the door, told him to walk in or the Bey would beat him again. Mr. Antes was at first afraid that some one had told him, that with a little more beating, money might yet be obtained from him. There are instances, indeed, of the bastinado being repeated for three days successively, to the number of one or two thousand strokes. Persons of very vigorous constitutions may

still perhaps survive; but in general, after five or six hundred strokes, the blood gushes from the mouth and nose, and the unhappy wretch dies either under the torture, or immediately after.*

When Mr. Antes entered the chamber, the Bey said to one of his officers, "Is this the man of whom you told me?" The fellow then having stepped up to the prisoner, and stared him in the face, as if narrowly to inspect his features, on a sudden lifted up his hands, and exclaimed, "By Allah it is! Why, this is the best man in all Cairo, and my particular friend. Oh! how sorry am I that I was not here before to tell you so," with other expressions of a similar kind. To this the Bey replied, "then take him. I give him to you; and if he has lost any thing, see to get it restored." Mr. Antes had never in his life seen the officer before; and he soon perceived that the whole was merely a trick to get rid of him in a decent manner, and to put a little money into the pocket of his pretended deliverer. He was obliged to walk once more till he was out of the Bey's sight, when the servants of his "particular friend" took him up and carried him to his house, which was at a considerable distance. Here the officer gave him something to eat, and made him a tolerably decent bed, which was the more welcome to him, as he had lost most of his clothes, and felt extremely cold. Mr. Antes asked him, whether what he had suffered was a proof of the boasted hospitality of his countrymen to strangers? but he got no answer from him excepting this, "It is from God! It is so written in the book of fate, which cannot be altered!" After the officer had anointed his feet with a certain balsam, and tied some rags about them, Mr. Antes lay down to rest, but spent a very uncomfortable night, suffering as might naturally be expected, most exquisite pain. In the morning, the artful fellow asked him whether he was acquainted with the master of the customs; and being answered in the affirmative, he offered to carry him to his house. Having set his

* Antes' Observations, p. 119. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 171.

patient on an ass, while he himself mounted a horse, they proceeded towards the city, accompanied by another soldier. On approaching the gate, the officer told him to take off his rags, as it would be a disgrace to him to ride into the town in that condition. "No disgrace to me," said Mr. Antes, "but to him who has treated me so shamefully." "It is from God," &c. was the answer of the officer. On arriving at the master of the custom's house, Mr. Antes requested that person to settle every thing for him with his pretended deliverer; and on summing up the fees, it was found that he had about 20*l.* to pay for this piece of service. Being then carried home, he was put to bed, and was confined to it about six weeks, before he could walk even on crutches; and for full three years after, his feet and ancles, which had been greatly hurt by the twisting of the chain, were very liable to swelling.*

In 1782, Mr. Antes returned to Europe, to attend a general synod of the Brethren's church at Bertholsdorf in Saxony. It was deemed proper that he should return again to Egypt;† and, indeed, as the missionaries had little prospect of success in that country, and no hope of being able to penetrate into Abyssinia, the mission was given up soon after.‡

SECTION VIII.

LABRADOR.§

THE Brethren settled in Greenland having been induced by some circumstances, to suspect that the inhabitants of that country had originally come from North America, and

* Antes' Observations, p. 123. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 174.
† Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 176. ‡ Ibid. p. 16.

§ Labrador is that part of the country called the Esquimaux, or New Britain lying round Hudson's Bay, which lies on the east side of the

that probably some of the same nation might still exist in that quarter of the globe, had often felt a strong desire to discover them, and to introduce Christianity among them. Matthew Stach even applied to the Hudson's Bay Company for permission to go and preach the gospel to the Indians in their factories; but his application, for what reason we know not, was rejected.* Some of the Brethren, however, in London, in company with several merchants, resolved to fit out a vessel to trade on the coast of Labrador; and they requested count Zinzendorf to send some missionaries with her to plant the gospel in that inhospitable country.†

In May 1752, four missionaries sailed from London on board this vessel, together with Christian Erhard, a Dutch mate, who had been several times on the whale fishery in Davis' Straits, had learned some Greenland words, and had now joined the church of the Brethren. They took with them a house ready framed, a boat, various kinds of implements, and seeds for the cultivation of the ground; and immediately on their arrival, began to make preparations for their settlement in the country. Meanwhile, Erhard proceeded with the ship to the northward, for the purpose of trade, and was able to make himself tolerably well understood by the Esquimaux; but as they were afraid to venture on board on account of the guns, he was induced to go ashore in an unarmed boat, with five other men, in a bay between the islands. This circumstance, for the present, proved the ruin of the mission. Neither Erhard nor his companions ever came back, and as the ship had no other boat, it was impossible to send in quest of them. On re-

* Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. ii. p. 153.

† Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

Bay, and is bounded by Canada on the south, by the Atlantic Ocean and Davis's Strait on the east and north-east.

The native inhabitants of this country appear to be of a different race to the other native Americans, being distinguished from them in a particular manner by a thick and bushy beard. They seem to be the same people as the Greenlanders, and very much resemble the Laplanders and Samoids of the north of Europe and Asia.

turning to the missionaries, the captain represented to them his distress; that having lost the best of his men, together with the boat, he was not able to accomplish the voyage homeward, and therefore he begged them to go back with him and assist in the management of the vessel. Under such circumstances, they could not refuse his request. They left the country with regret; but it was in the hope of returning the following year. On their arrival in England, however, it was not deemed expedient to renew the attempt, until information should be received of the safety of Erhard and his companions; and as on the return of the ship the ensuing season, some of their bodies were discovered, from which it was concluded they had been murdered by the savages, the mission was for the present abandoned.*

In 1764, Jens Haven, who had laboured for some years as a missionary in Greenland, offered to renew the attempt of planting Christianity among the Esquimaux. With this view he came to England, and by the assistance of the Brethren in this country, obtained permission to form a settlement on the coast of Labrador, under the patronage of sir Hugh Palliser, the governor of that country and of the neighbouring island of Newfoundland. He sailed on this hazardous undertaking that very season; and after landing in various places, he at length discovered a number of Esquimaux on the island of Quirpont, on the north-east point of Newfoundland; and as he was able to speak with them in their own language, which was very similar to the Greenland, they were struck with no small degree of astonishment, this having never before been done by any European. He informed them that the design of his voyage was to make known to them the true God, and the way to heaven; and after being treated by them for some days with all imaginable kindness, he took leave of them, promising to return, the following year.†

Hitherto no European had been safe among these savages,

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren. † Ibid.

and therefore the friendship they manifested to our missionary was extremely agreeable to governor Palliser, and to the Board of Trade and Plantations. Haven, accordingly, did return the following year, accompanied by two or three other Brethren. They travelled still further into the interior of the country; and, on their return to the ship, they met with some hundreds of the Esquimaux, to whom they preached the gospel for some weeks. Much, however, as the establishment of a mission in Labrador was desired, not only by the Brethren, but by some persons of high rank in England, yet, owing to a variety of circumstances, it was again found necessary to defer it for the present.*

Meanwhile, the well-known Esquimaux woman, Mikak, was brought from Labrador to London. She was extremely happy to find in Jens Haven one who could talk her language, and earnestly begged him to return and help her poor countrymen, who, she said, were almost ruined, many of them having been killed in a late affray with the English. From the notice she received from many persons of rank and influence, her repeated applications were of considerable use in forwarding the mission; and the privy council at length issued a grant to the Brethren, permitting them to form settlements on the coast of Labrador, and to preach the gospel to the Esquimaux. Still further to forward the undertaking, some Brethren in London, who took a deep interest in its success, purchased a vessel, with which they resolved not only to convey the missionaries to the place of their destination, but to supply them annually with the necessaries of life; and in order that they might be able to support the expense, they agreed to carry on some kind of trade with the Esquimaux.†

In 1770, Jens Haven, accompanied by Christian L. Drachart, who had been employed for many years in the Danish mission in Greenland, and Stephen Jensen, sailed

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

† Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 107.

for the coast of Labrador, with the view of exploring the country, and fixing a situation for a settlement. Having chosen that spot which goes by the name of Nain, they purchased the land from the Esquimaux, and then returned to London to make preparations for settling in the country.*

In 1771, they again sailed for the coast of Labrador, and after a dangerous voyage along a rocky unfrequented, inhospitable shore, they arrived at the place which they had previously fixed on for a settlement.† Having taken with them the frame of a house, they immediately began to erect it, with the assistance of the sailors; and though this was a work of some difficulty, yet happily the Esquimaux who visited them were so quiet and obedient, that they gave them no disturbance. Besides employing themselves in fishing, the Brethren contrived to build boats and other small vessels for the natives, both in order to be of service to them, and to earn something for their own subsistence‡.

In 1774, Jens Haven received a commission to go with three others of the Brethren, and explore the coast to the northward of Nain. This expedition, however, was attended with disasters, of which we have happily few examples in the history of missions. On their return, the vessel was wrecked, two of the Brethren were drowned, and though Haven and another of the missionaries escaped, it was by an interposition of Providence little less than miraculous.§

In 1776, the Brethren, after purchasing the land from the Esquimaux, established a new settlement about a hundred and fifty miles to the northward, which they called Okkak. Having erected a habitation for themselves in that place, they proceeded to make known the gospel among the savages in the neighbourhood; and though for several years their labours were attended with many difficulties and vicissi-

* Period. Acc. vol. ii. p. 108. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 109.

‡ Spangenberg's Account of the manner in which the United Brethren carry on their Missions among the Heathen, p. 83.

§ Period. Accounts, vol, ii. p. 110.

tudes, yet some of the Esquimaux appeared to feel the power of the truth on their heart, and to manifest its influence in their life.*

In March 178?, the Brethren in Labrador experienced a most gracious interposition of Providence in behalf of two of their number, when in circumstances of the most imminent danger. The particulars are so remarkable, we shall give a detail of them at full length. Samuel Liebisch, one of the missionaries at Nain, being at that time entrusted with the general superintendence of the Brethren's settlements in Labrador, the duties of his office required him to pay a visit to Okkak, accompanied by William Turner, another of the missionaries. They set off on their journey early in the morning in a sledge driven by one of the baptized Esquimaux, and were joined by another sledge of Esquimaux, the whole company consisting of five men, one woman, and a child.† All were in good spirits; and as the weather was clear, and the track over the frozen sea in the best order, they travelled

* Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 110.

† In Labrador, a sledge is drawn by a species of dogs, somewhat similar to a wolf in shape; and, like that animal, they never bark, but howl disagreeably. They are kept by the Esquimaux in greater or smaller packs, according to the wealth of the proprietor. They quietly submit to be harnessed for their work, and are treated with no great mercy by the savages, who make them do hard duty, and at the same time allow them little food. This consists chiefly of offals, old skins, rotten whale fins, entrails, &c.: or should their master not be provided with these, or similar articles, he leaves them to go and seek dead fish or muscles on the beach. When pinched with hunger, they will eat almost any thing; and on a journey, it is necessary to secure the harness during the night, lest by devouring it they should render it impossible to proceed in the morning. In the evening, after being unharnessed, they are left to burrow in the snow wherever they please; and in the morning they are sure to return at the call of the driver, as they then receive some food. In fastening them in the harness, they are not allowed to go abreast, but are tied by separate thongs of unequal length, to an horizontal bar on the forepart of the sledge: An old knowing one leads the way, running ten or twenty paces before the rest, directed by the driver's whip, which is very long, and can be properly managed only by an Esquimaux. The others follow like a flock of sheep. If one of them receive a lash, he generally bites his neighbour, and the bite then goes round. Their strength and speed, even with a hungry stomach, are truly astonishing.—Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 226.

with ease at the rate of six or seven miles an hour, so that they hoped to reach Okkak in the course of two or three days. After passing the islands in the bay of Nain, they kept at a considerable distance from the shore, both to gain the smoothest part of the ice, and to avoid the high rocky promontory of Kiglapeit. About eight o'clock they met a sledge with Esquimaux turning in from the sea; and after the usual salutations, the strangers, in the course of conversation, threw out some hints, that it might be as well for them to return. As the missionaries, however, saw no cause of alarm, and suspected hat the travellers merely wished to enjoy the company of their friends a little longer, they proceeded on their journey. After some time, their own Esquimaux hinted that there was a ground-swell under the ice. It was then scarcely perceptible, except on lying down and applying the ear close to the ice, when a hollow disagreeable grating noise was heard, as if ascending from the abyss. The sky, however, was still clear, except towards the east, where a bank of light clouds appeared, interspersed with some dark streaks; but as the wind blew strong from the north-west, nothing was less expected than a sudden change of weather.*

The Brethren continued to pursue their journey till the sun had reached its height in the horizon, and as yet there was little or no alteration in the aspect of the sky. But as the motion of the sea under the ice had grown more perceptible, they became rather alarmed, and began to think it prudent to keep close to the shore. The ice also had cracks and large fissures in many places, some of which formed chasms of one or two feet wide; but as they are not uncommon, even in its best state, and the dogs easily leap over them, they are frightful only to strangers.†

But as soon as the sun declined towards the west, the wind increased to a storm, the bank of light clouds from the east began to ascend, and the dark streaks to put themselves in

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iii. p. 226. † Ibid. vol. iii p. 228.

motion against the wind. The snow was violently driven about by partial whirlwinds, both on the ice and from off the peaks of the neighbouring mountains. The ground-swell had now increased so much, that its effects on the ice were very extraordinary, as well as alarming. The sledges, instead of gliding smoothly along as on an even surface, sometimes ran with violence after the dogs, and sometimes seemed with difficulty to ascend a rising hill; for though the ice was many leagues square, and in some places three or four yards thick, yet, the swell of the sea underneath gave it an undulatory motion, not unlike that of a sheet of paper accommodating itself to the surface of a rippling stream. Noises, too were now distinctly heard in many directions, like the report of cannon, owing to the bursting of the ice at a distance.*

Alarmed by these frightful phenomena, our travellers drove with all haste towards the shore; but as they approached it, the prospect before them was awfully tremendous. The ice, having burst loose from the rocks, was tossed to and fro, and broken in a thousand pieces against the precipices with a dreadful noise, which, added to the raging of the sea, the roaring of the wind, and driving of the snow, so completely overpowed them, as almost to deprive them of the use both of their eyes and ears. To make the land was now the only resource that remained; but it was with the utmost difficulty the frightened dogs could be driven forward; and as the whole body of ice frequently sunk below the surface of the rocks, and then rose above it, the only time for landing was the moment it gained the level of the coast; a circumstance which rendered the attempt extremely nice and hazardous. Through the kindness of Providence, however, it succeeded. Both sledges gained the shore, and were drawn up on the beach, though not without great difficulty.†

Scarcely had they reached the shore, when that part of

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 228. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 228.

the ice from which they had just escaped burst asunder, and the water rushing up from beneath, instantly precipitated it into the ocean. In a moment, as if by a signal, the whole mass of ice, for several miles along the coast, and extending as far as the eye could reach, began to break and to be overwhelmed with the waves. The spectacle was tremendous and awfully grand. The immense fields of ice rising out of the ocean, clashing against each other, and then plunging into the deep with a violence which no language can describe, and a noise like the discharge of a thousand cannon, was a sight which must have struck the most unreflecting mind with solemn awe. The Brethren were overwhelmed with amazement at their miraculous escape; and even the Pagan Esquimaux expressed gratitude to God on account of their deliverance.*

The Esquimaux now began to build a snow-house about thirty paces from the beach; and about nine o'clock at night all of them crept into it, thankful for such a place of refuge, wretched as it was. Before entering it, they once more turned their eyes to the sea, and beheld with horror mingled with gratitude, the enormous waves driving furiously before the wind, like so many huge castles, and approaching the shore, where, with tremendous noise, they dashed against the rocks, foaming and filling the air with the spray. The whole company now took supper, and after singing a hymn, they lay down to rest about ten o'clock. The Esquimaux were soon fast asleep; but Liebisch, the missionary, could get no rest, partly on account of the dreadful roaring of the storm, and partly on account of a sore throat, which occasioned him severe pain. Both the Brethren, indeed, were much engaged in thinking of their late miraculous deliverance; and they mingled with their thanksgivings, prayer for still further relief.†

The wakefulness of the missionaries proved the deliverance of the whole party from destruction. About two

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iii. p. 229. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 230.

o'clock in the morning, Liebisch perceived some drops of salt water fall from the roof of the snow-house on his lips. Though rather alarmed on tasting it, he lay quiet till the dropping became more frequent, and then, just as he was about to give the alarm, a tremendous surf, all of a sudden, broke close to the house, and discharged a quantity of water into it; a second quickly followed, and carried away the slab of snow which was placed as a door before the entrance. The Brethren immediately cried to the Esquimaux to rise and quit the place. Alarmed at the call, they jumped up in an instant: One of them with a large knife cut a passage through the side of the house, and each seizing some part of the baggage, threw it out on a higher part of the beach. They all immediately retreated to a neighbouring eminence; but scarcely had they reached it, when an enormous wave carried away the whole of the house.*

Thus they were a second time delivered from the imminent danger of destruction; but yet they suffered great distress during the remaining part of the night, as it was scarcely possible to stand against the wind, the sleet, and the snow. Before the dawn of day, the Esquimaux cut a hole in the snow to screen the two missionaries, the woman and the child. Liebisch, however, could not bear the closeness of the air, and was obliged to sit at the entrance, where they covered him with skins to keep him warm, as the pain of his throat was extremely severe. As soon as it was light, they built another snow-house, about eight feet square, and six or seven feet high; yet still their situation was by no means comfortable.†

The Brethren had no more provisions with them than what was deemed sufficient to carry them to Okkak, and the Esquimaux had nothing at all. It was therefore necessary to divide their little stock into daily portions, especially as there appeared no prospect of their being soon able to quit this dreary place, and to reach the dwellings of man. There

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iii. p. 231. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 231.

were only two ways in which this could be effected; either to attempt the passage across the wild unfrequented mountain Kiglapeit, or to wait for a new ice-tract over the sea, and when that might form it was impossible to say. They, therefore, resolved to serve out no more than a biscuit and a half daily to each individual; and though their allowance was so small; they were all preserved in good health. Leibisch very unexpectedly recovered, on the first day, from his sore throat, owing probably to the low diet on which he was obliged to subsist.*

Meanwhile, the Brethren at Nain, and especially the wives of the two missionaries, were thrown into a state of the utmost anxiety and alarm, on account of our travellers. During the storm, they had felt considerable apprehension for their safety, though it was by no means so violent in that quarter, as the coast is there protected by islands. The Esquimaux, however, who had met them, and had warned them of the ground-swell, in their obscure ambiguous manner, now threw out hints of their inevitable destruction. One of them, to whom either Liebisch or Turner was indebted for some article of dress, came to the wife of the missionary, and said he should be glad of payment for the work: "Wait a little," answered she "when my husband returns he will settle with you, for I am unacquainted with the bargain between you." "Samuel and William,"† replied the Esquimaux, "will return no more to Nain." "How, not return! What makes you say so?" After some pause, he replied in a low tone of voice: "Samuel and William are no more! All their bones are broken, and in the stomachs of the sharks." So certain was he of their destruction, that it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to wait their return: He could not believe it

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 232.

† The names by which the two missionaries were known by the Esquimaux.

possible that they could have escaped the storm, considering the course they were pursuing.*

In the meanwhile, the two Brethren were in no small distress how they should escape from their present dreary situation. The weather had now cleared, and the sea, as far as the eye could reach, was so completely free of ice, that not a morsel was to be seen. One of the Pagan Esquimaux, who was a sorcerer, suggested that it would be well to "try to make good weather;" but this was, of course, opposed by the missionaries, who told him that such Heathenish arts were of no avail. They were now, indeed, in such straits for provisions, that the Esquimaux one day ate an old sack made of fish skin; and the next they began to devour a filthy worn-out skin, which had served them for a mattress. Their spirits too began to sink; but they possess this convenient quality, that they can go to rest whenever they please, and if necessary, can sleep for days and nights together. Besides, as the temperature of the air was rather mild, this was a new source of uneasiness to them, the roof of the snow-house was melted by the warm exhalations of the inhabitants; and as this occasioned a continual dropping, every thing, by degrees, was so soaked with water, that there was not a dry thread about them, nor a dry place in which to lie.†

Meanwhile, however, the sea had begun to freeze; and, in a short time, it acquired a considerable degree of solidity. The Esquimaux belonging to the other sledge now resolved to pursue their journey to Okkak; while the Brethren, after remaining six days in this miserable place, set off to return to Nain. Their Esquimaux driver ran all the way round the promontary of Kiglapeit, before the sledge, to find a good track; and after travelling about three hours, they reached the bay, and so were out of danger. Here they made a meal of the remainder of their provisions; and then proceeded on their journey without again stopping till about twelve o'clock

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 236. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 233.

at night, when they reached Nain to the great joy of the whole settlement, and particularly of their own families.*

Soon after this remarkable event, a third settlement was begun by the Brethren at a place which they called Hopedale, to the south of Nain, with the view of making known the gospel among the Esquimaux in that part of the country, who seemed anxious to have missionaries resident among them; but the expectations of success, to which this naturally gave rise, were by no means realized, at least for the present. For some years after the establishment of this settlement, a number of the baptized, particularly from this quarter, were seduced to the south, where they purchased fire-arms, associated with the Heathen, and plunged themselves not only into spiritual but into temporal ruin. To encourage these migrations, some of their countrymen spread the most favourable reports of the goodness and cheapness of European goods in that part of the country; and though their accounts were at variance with each other, yet the temptations were too strong to be resisted by a poor roving Esquimaux. This circumstance materially impeded the progress of the mission, and corrupted the minds even of those who were better disposed, numbers of whom were seduced to join in some of the Heathenish practises of their countrymen, and to rove at a distance among them. Many of these wandering sheep indeed returned; but others perished, in the south, of hunger, a circumstance which, at length, had a considerable effect in checking their migrations.†

Even afterwards, however, when the course of the congregations became of a more pleasing nature, some of the baptized, when seized with sickness, were apt to seek relief in the old superstitious practices of the sorcerers, if the remedies administered by the missionaries had not immediate effect; for when an Esquimaux is taken ill, he is not satisfied unless he is cured instantaneously. But though the dread of death is deeply rivetted in the breast of these poor peo-

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 235. † Ibid. vol. iv. p. 106.; vol. i. p. 50, &c.

ple, and manifested itself strongly in the beginning of their illness; yet as their dissolution approached, it was often pleasing to see them so resigned to the will of God and so willing to die.*

Among the Esquimaux whom the Brethren received into fellowship with them, was a man named Tuglawina, who had been baptized some years before by a Presbyterian in Chateau Bay, during a dangerous illness. He was a person of great note among his countrymen, and acquired an astonishing ascendency over them, not only by his activity, dexterity, and success in hunting, his courage, strength, and hardiness, (the most essential qualities of a great man among the Esquimaux), but by a vigour of mind, a soundness of intellect, and a quickness of apprehension far superior to most of his nation. As he was also a sorcerer, they believed him to possess extraordinary supernatural powers, bestowed on him by the Torngak, or familiar spirit, which he pretended to consult on all occasions; and such was the credulity of the poor deluded creatures, that if he declared, on the word of his Torngak, that such a person ought not to live, they often instantly murdered the unfortunate object of his vengeance. Thus he was not only guilty of the murder of several persons by his own hands, but he was accessary to the death of many more, through the influence he possessed over others. The Brethren would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to his artifice and barbarity, had Providence permitted him to disapprove of their settlement in the country; but though he was a tyrant among his own countrymen, a disturber of the peace of the mission, and a seducer of the converts, he was the friend of the missionaries, and always professed to respect and even to love them. When reproved by them for his wicked deeds, he acknowledged that he was a vile sinner, frequently shed tears, and even trembled in their presence; but still he apologized for himself, saying, that the devil forced him to sin, and that it was not

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 130. 134.

in his power to help it. By degrees, however, he became attentive to the gospel, and at length gave such proofs of his sincere conversion, that the Brethren, after the usual time of trial as an inhabitant of the settlement, received him into Christian fellowship with them. Afterwards, indeed, he was guilty of some deviations from the path of duty; but yet, on the whole, he afforded them much satisfaction, by his pious regular deportment, and he at last left the world in peace.*

In December 1800, an event occurred which occasioned the Brethren the deepest and most pungent grief. One of the missionaries at Hopedale, named Reiman, who had gone out to procure some fresh provisions by shooting, never returned, nor was heard of more. In the evening, his Brethren became much alarmed for his safety, particularly as the whole country was covered with ice, rain having fallen the day before upon the snow; and about seven o'clock, they sent out four of the Esquimaux, with muskets, to seek him, and to direct him towards them by the fire of their guns; but these returned about break of day, without having seen or heard any thing of him. As soon, therefore, as it was light, the whole of the Brethren, together with all the Esquimaux, set off to renew the search. In several places, they discovered his footsteps in the snow, but these were soon lost on the ice; and though they persevered in the enquiry for nine days successively, examining every place they could think of with the utmost anxiety and care, yet it was without success. In April following, they renewed the search, in order, if possible, to discover his remains; but this attempt also was of no avail. It was therefore impossible to determine in what manner he had perished, though of his death no doubt could remain.†

In 1803, a considerable awakening began among the Esquimaux at Hopedale, and spread from thence to the other two settlements, Okkak and Nain. Many who hitherto had

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 354; vol. ii. p. 60, 222, 328, 435. Ibid. vol. iii p. 8.

been perfectly careless and indifferent about their souls, now became concerned for their salvation; and even among the baptized there appeared more of the power and influence of vital religion. This has continued in a greater or less degree, ever since that period; and within a few years past, the congregations have been materially augmented. In 1788, the whole number of the baptized, from the commencement of the mission, amounted only to a hundred and four, and of these, there were sixty-three then living; but according to the last accounts, the number of the baptized is now little short of three hundred, and there has, at the same time, been a great increase of inhabitants in each of the settlements. The following Table exhibits a view of their numbers in the year 1812:

	BAPTIZED, AND CANDIDATES FOR BAPTISM.	COMMUNICANTS.	INHABITANTS.
Nain	88	25	150
Okkak	116	—	233
Hopedale	88	31	122*

Besides a Spelling Book, and Catechism or Summary of Christian Doctrine, and a Hymn Book, the Brethren have published a Harmony of the Four Gospels in the Esquimaux language.†

Of late they have undertaken a translation of the whole New Testament; and that noble institution the British and Foreign Bible Society have engaged to be at the expense of publishing it. The Gospel according to John was printed about three years ago, and the other three Gospels have just issued from the press. When the former was distributed among the converts, they expressed their sense of its value in the most affecting manner. Some burst into a flood of tears; some pressed the little book to their bosom, and looked as happy as if they enjoyed a foretaste of heaven:

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iv. p. 107; vol. i. p. 16; vol. v. p. 253, 255, 261.

† Ibid. vol. v. p. 23.

and some again expressed the gratitude of their hearts in letters which they addressed to the missionaries. They now take it with them when they go out in search of provisions; and they spend their evenings in their tents or snow-houses, reading it with great delight.*

As there is no regular communication between England and Labrador, a small vessel is employed by the Brethren to convey the necessaries of life to the missionaries once a year; and it is a circumstance not unworthy of notice, that since the commencement of the mission, a period of upwards of forty years, no interruption has ever taken place in their annual communications with them; and except once, by capture, on her return home, no serious accident has befallen the vessel, though on account of the ice and the many sunken rocks, the navigation between the settlements is of the most difficult and dangerous nature. This vessel returns home with skins, bone, and oil; the sale of which, of late years, has nearly covered the expense of the voyage. In each settlement, one of the Brethren is appointed to receive such goods as the Esquimaux may bring in barter for such articles as are useful to them, but the missionaries never go out to trade with them, as this would interfere too much with the chief object of their settlement in the country.†

SECTION IX.

Nicobar Islands.‡

IN 1756, a commercial establishment was begun by the Danes from Tranquebar on the Nicobar Islands, which are

* Report of the British and For. Bib. Soc. 1810, p. 12. Ibid. 1812, Appendix, p. 41. Ibid. 1813, Appendix, p. 32, 99. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 49.

† Periodical Accounts, vol. iii. p. 327; vol. v. p. 18, 26.

‡ These are a number of small islands which lie at the entrance of the Bay of Bengal, between lat. 7° and 9° N. and long. 93° and 95° E. and are inhabited by an inoffensive people.

situated in the Bay of Bengal to the north of Sumatra, and it was intimated to the Brethren by a person of high rank at the court of Denmark, that it would give his majesty particular pleasure if some of them would settle as missionaries in that quarter of the world, and endeavour to convert the inhabitants to the Christian faith. To this proposal they readily consented; and though in the meanwhile intelligence was received that the attempt to establish a settlement on these islands had miscarried, and that almost all the colonists had died, yet they were not discouraged by these disastrous circumstances. It was judged proper, however, that they should have a settlement at Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast, in order to carry on the mission in the Nicobar Islands from that quarter, as it did not appear adviseable to establish a colony in so wild and distant a region, immediately from Europe. To this plan the Danish government readily gave their consent.*

In 1759, George J. Stahlman, Adam Gotlieb Voelcker, and Christopher Butler, accompanied by eleven other single Brethren, sailed from Europe, and after a voyage of eight months, arrived at Tranquebar, where they were received by the governor and the other inhabitants with much cordiality. Having purchased a piece of ground about a mile from the town, they built themselves a house, together with some work-shops and out-houses, wrought at their several trades, and met with good sale for the articles they made, at Tranquebar and the neighbouring Dutch and English settlements. This place they called *The Brethren's Garden.*†

For several years, the Brethren had no opportunity of making any attempt to introduce Christianity into the Nicobar Islands, as they were obliged to wait till the Danish East India Company should settle a colony on them. An invitation, indeed, was given them by the English governor of Bengal to come and reside in that part of the country; but

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren. † Ibid.

this proposal they thought proper to decline, being resolved to wait with patience for an opportunity of prosecuting their original plan.*

In 1768, the Danish government, after many delays, formed a new establishment on the Nicobar Islands, and six of the Brethren immediately went thither, and settled on one of them called Nancauwery. Several officers of the East India Company afterwards arrived from Tranquebar, with a party of soldiers and black servants, and brought with them a considerable quantity of merchandize. But they died so rapidly, that in 1771, only two European soldiers, and four Malabar servants, remained alive. This second failure deterred the Company from renewing the attempt; and thus the project of establishing a factory in the Nicobar Islands was abandoned. The four Brethren who still resided in the settlement were entrusted with the sale of such goods as remained; a commission from which they experienced no small inconvenience.†

In 1773, however, a vessel was sent from Tranquebar, which relieved them from this burden, by taking back such articles of trade as still remained on hand, and carrying them a supply of provisions. As the means of furnishing the missionaries with the necessaries of life from that place were now extremely precarious and uncertain, the Brethren resolved to charter a vessel annually for that purpose. In executing this plan, Mr. Holford, an English gentleman residing at Tranquebar, rendered them the most essential service. He joined them in fitting out a small vessel, which sailed for Nancauwery with provisions, and returned with the productions of the country, but the sale of these by no means repaid the expense of the undertaking. Mr. Holford, however, was not discouraged by the want of success. Another vessel was fitted out the following year, but having missed the entrance into the Nicobar Islands, she was obliged, after combating

* Crantz's History of the United Brethren.

† Haensel's Letters on the Nicobar Islands, p. 9.

long with contrary winds and currents, to cast anchor near Junckceylon, where she landed her cargo. A third vessel had in the meanwhile sailed for these islands, but the voyage was attended with no better success.*

In 1779, John Gottfried Haensel, and another of the Brethren named Wangeman, arrived at Nancauwery, where there were then three other missionaries, Heyne, Liebisch, and Blaschke; but the last of these being very ill, returned by the vessel to Tranquebar, where he soon after died; and it was not long before both Liebisch and Wangeman followed him to the grave. Haensel himself was so ill of the seasoning fever, that having fallen into a swoon, he was supposed to be dead, and was removed from his bed, and already laid out as a corpse, when he revived, and asked his attendants what they were doing, and why they wept. In reply, they told him, that apprehending him to be dead, they were preparing for his funeral. His recovery was extremely slow; and indeed, during the whole time of his residence in Nancauwery, he never perfectly regained his health.†

The Brethren were as diligent as their wretched circumstances would admit, in clearing the land and planting it, in order to procure for themselves the necessaries of life; and indeed they frequently laboured beyond their strength, and brought on themselves various dangerous illnesses, by their excessive exertions. Besides labouring in this manner for their own support, they endeavoured to lessen the expenses of the mission, by making collections of shells, serpents, and other natural curiosities, which they sent to Tranquebar for sale, as there was at that time a great demand for productions of this kind in England, Holland, Denmark, and other parts of Europe. Mr. Haensel informs us, that whether he went into the woods, or walked along the beach, whether he travelled by land or by water, he was accustomed to examine every object he saw, and acquired great facility in catching some of the most dangerous crea-

* Haensel's Letters on the Nicobar Islands, p. 10. † Ibid. p. 14, 17.

tures without injury to himself. Far from being afraid of serpents, he went out purposely to discover their haunts, in the jungles and among the rocks; and if he could only prevent them from slipping off into their holes, and irritate them so as to make them attempt to strike him, he completely gained his end. As a serpent in such circumstances bites whatever comes first in its way, he immediately presented his hat to it, which the animal violently seized with its fangs, then instantly snatching it away, he seldom failed to extract them by the sudden jerk; for as they are curved they cannot easily be withdrawn, and being loose in the gums they are readily disengaged;—he next laid hold of the creature, which was now in a great degree harmless, pinned down its head, and tied it up. It is necessary, however, to be extremely careful when preparing their heads and refixing the fangs, that you are not lacerated by their teeth, or injured in any other way; for it is a singular fact, that a wound inflicted in this manner, even long after death, produces dreadful and often fatal consequences.* †

* Haensel's Letters, p. 20, 35, 40.

† At the Brethren's Garden near Tranquebar, Mr. Haensel, after his return to that place, had a shop or work-room for the purpose of stuffing these and other animals, preserving them in spirits, or otherwise preparing them for sale; and he sometimes employed two or three Malabar boys to assist him in these operations. In the neighbourhood of that town, there is a short serpent which they call the split-snake: it is black, with a white streak along its back dividing the body longitudinally; its bite is extremely venomous; and, as it is a very slender creature, it can insinuate itself into the smallest hole or cranny. By this means it often enters rooms and closets in quest of food, of which Mr. Haensel gives us the following interesting example. "There was a door," says he, "in a dark part of my work-room, with a large clumsy lock upon it. One evening as I was attempting to open it, I suddenly felt a prick in my finger, and, at the same instant, a violent electrical shock, as if I were split asunder. Not thinking of a serpent, I at first imagined that my Malabar boys had in their play wound some wire about the handle, and that it was by this I was hurt; and therefore I asked them sharply what they had done to the door. They denied, however, that they had meddled with it; and when I made a second attempt to open it, I was attacked still more violently, and perceived the blood trickling down my finger. I then returned into my room and sucked the wound till I could draw no more blood from it; after which I applied to it some

Mr. Haensel, in his frequent excursions along the sea coast, was sometimes benighted, and could not conveniently return to the mission-house; but, in these circumstances he was never at a loss for a bed. The greater part of the beach consists of a remarkably fine white sand, which, above high water mark, is perfectly clean and dry. Into this he easily dug a hole large enough to contain his body, and he likewise formed a mound as a pillow for his head. He then lay down, and by collecting the sand over him, buried himself in it up to the neck. His faithful dog always lay across his body, ready to give the alarm in case of the smallest danger or disturbance. He was under no apprehension, however, from wild animals: crocodiles and kaymans never haunted the open coast, but confined themselves to creeks and lagoons; and there was no ravenous beasts on the island. He never suffered any annoyance, unless from the nocturnal perambulations of an immense variety of crabs, the grating noise of whose armour sometimes kept him awake. But they were well watched by his dog, and if any ventured to approach, they were sure to be seized by him, and thrown to a more

spirits of turpentine, and tied it up with a bandage: but being much hurried that evening with other business, I took no further notice of it. In the night, however, it swelled, and was extremely painful. In the morning, when I went into the work-room, I thought I felt an unpleasant musky smell; and on approaching the door already mentioned the stench was altogether intolerable. I again asked the boys what nasty stuff they had brought into the room, for they were always playing themselves, but they still denied that they knew any thing about the matter. Having procured a candle, I then discovered the cause of all the mischief: about six inches of the head and body of a young split-snake hung out of the key-hole, perfectly dead; and on taking off the lock, I found the creature twisted into it, and so much wounded by the turn of the bolt, from my attempt to open the door, that it had died in consequence. It had been entering the room through the key-hole, when I thus accidentally stopped its progress and was bitten by it; and considering the deadly nature of this serpent's poison, I felt thankful to God, that, though ignorant of the cause of the wound, I applied proper remedies to it, in consequence of which my life was not endangered. I have been told that the bite of every serpent is accompanied, in a greater or less degree, by a sensation similar to an electrical shock. The name of split-snake, which is given to this animal, we considered as descriptive, not so much of its split appearance, as of the singular sensations occasioned by its bite."—*Haensel's Letters*, p. 40, 41.

respectful distance; or if one of a more tremendous size deterred the dog from exposing his nose to its claws, he would bark and frighten it away. Our missionary had many a comfortable sleep in these sepulchral dormitories, though in most other parts of the East it would be extremely hazardous for a person to expose himself in this manner, on account of the number of wild beasts with which they abound.*

Though the Brethren had little or nothing to dread from wild beasts on the Nicobar Islands, yet, in their visits to other places, they were sometimes in danger from them. On one of Mr. Haensel's voyages, either to or from Queda, a place on the Malay coast, a Danish ship hailed the vessel, and approaching incautiously, ran foul of the stern, and broke the flag-staff. Having put into a creek, some of the sailors landed near a wood to cut down a tree to make a new one. Mr. Haensel accompanied them, armed with a double-barrelled gun, with the view of procuring some fresh meat for supper. While they were at work, he walked on the outside of the wood, eagerly looking for some game, and soon discovered among the high grass, an object, which, by its motions, he mistook for the back of a hare. He immediately took aim, and was just going to fire, when the animal rose up and proved to be a tiger. Overcome with horror, his arm involuntarily sunk down; he stood perfectly motionless, expecting that the creature would instantly spring at him, and tear him in pieces. Providentially, however, the animal seemed as much alarmed as himself, and after staring at him for a few seconds, turned slowly round, and began to creep away like a frightened cat, with his belly close to the ground; then gradually quickening his pace, fled with precipitation into a distant part of the wood. It was sometime before Mr. Haensel recovered sufficient presence of mind to trace back his steps towards the beach, for his heart still trembled within him. As he approached

* Haensel's Letters, p. 36.

the shore, there was a piece of jungle or low thicket before him, and he was turning to the left to pass round by the side opposite the boat, hoping he might yet find some game, when he observed the sailors labouring hard to drag the tree they had felled towards the water, and therefore he altered his course and went to their assistance. No sooner had he entered the boat, than he discovered on that side of the jungle to which he was first going, a lage kayman, watching their motions, and which he would certainly have met had he gone by the way he originally intended. Thankful as he was for this second deliverance, he could not help discharging his gun at the animal's head, and by the sudden plunge which it made into the water, and the appearance of blood on the surface as it was swimming to the opposite shore, it was evident that the creature was wounded. He saw it reach the land, and crawl through the mud into the jungle.* †

* Haensel's Letters, p. 37.

† All the Nicobar Islands which have fresh water lakes and streams, are overrun with the crocodile or alligator. There are two species of this animal, the proper crocodile and the black kayman. The former is said never to attack living creatures, but to devour only carrion, and therefore it is not considered as dangerous. "Of the correctness of this opinion," says Mr. Haensel, "I had once ocular proof. I was walking at Queda along the coast, and looking at a number of children swimming and playing in the water. On a sudden I observed a large crocodile proceed towards them from a creek. Terrified at the idea of their danger, I screamed out, and made signs to some Chinese to run to their assistance; but they laughed me to scorn as an ignorant stranger. I afterwards saw the monster playing about among the children, while the young creatures diverted themselves by pretending to attack him and drive him away.

"The kayman is less in size than the crocodile. It is extremely fierce, and seizes upon every creature that has life; but it cannot lift any thing from the ground, on account of the projection of the lower jaw. Part of the flesh of this animal is good and wholesome when well cooked. It tastes somewhat like pork, for which I took it, and ate it with much relish, when I first came to Nancauwery; till finding, on enquiry, that it was the flesh of a creature so disgusting in its appearance and habits, I felt a loathing for it which I could never overcome, but it is eaten both by the natives and Europeans." *Haensel's Letters*, p. 31, 39.

After the officers and soldiers who had accompanied the Brethren to the Nicobar Islands were all dead, and it was known that the missionaries would not abandon their post, the government at Tranquebar required that one of them should always act as the Danish royal Resident, and hold, as it were, the presidency of the islands. This office, however, was frequently a source of much vexation, and even of danger, to them. The Danes, when they formed their first settlement on one of these islands, which they called New Denmark, had conveyed thither a considerable number of cannon; but after the death of all the soldiers, the carriages rotted to pieces, and the guns were suffered to lie on the ground. On one occasion, a *Nacata*, or general of the king of Queda, as he styled himself, arrived at Nancauwery with a large prow, and five of the guns on board. Mr. Haensel being informed of this, considered it his duty as Resident to protest against the robbery, and spoke to him concerning it. The general flew into a great rage, and began to use threatening language, pleading the orders of his sovereign. Mr. Haensel replied, with all the simplicity of truth, that his prince knew very well, that as he had laid nothing down there, he had no right to take any thing up, and that he would give notice of it to the king of Denmark. He then left him, but afterwards heard, that the fellow threatened to kill him, and thus prevent him from reporting what he had done. The natives also assured Mr. Haensel; that it was the general's intention to murder him; but that they would stay and defend him. They, accordingly, stopped till late in the night when the Brethren desired them to return home, but could scarcely prevail on them to go away.*

After they were away, and just as the Brethren were preparing to retire to bed, they heard a noise without, and immediately after, a violent knocking at the door. On opening it, Mr. Haensel was alarmed to see it surrounded by a great number of Malays; but though he was much afraid, he assumed an

* Haensel's Letters, p. 65.

authoritative air, and kept his station at the entrance, as if determined not to let them in. The foremost, however, pushed by him, and then the Nacata himself came forward. Having treacherously held out his hand, Mr. Haensel offered him his in return, upon which the barbarian grasped it firmly, and dragged him into the house. The Malays immediately crowded into the room, and sat down on the chairs and on the floor, closely watching him, armed with their creeses or daggers. Though Mr. Haensel preserved a firm undaunted look, yet it is impossible to describe the inward feelings of his mind on this occasion, for he expected every moment to fall a sacrifice to their fury. The Nacata then told him, that he had come to ask whose property the cannon were to be, the Resident's or his? To this question Mr. Haensel replied to the following effect: "You have come to the wrong person to make that enquiry; for I am only a servant of the king of Denmark, as you, according to your own account, are the servant of the king of Queda. Neither of us, therefore, can determine who shall have the cannon. Our respective masters, and they only can settle that point. You have told me that you have received orders to bring them; and I can assure you that I have orders to protest against it: We have both therefore only done our duty. All now depends on this point, whether my king or your king has the best right to give orders on these islands, and to claim the property in question."

On receiving this answer, the Necata became quite furious, and began to talk of the ease with which the Malays could murder them all. Some of them even drew their daggers, and shewed the missionary how they were tipped with poison. On a sudden they all rose up, and to his imagination seemed to rush upon him; but instead of this they quitted the room, one by one, and left him standing alone in astonishment at their conduct. As soon as they were all gone, and he found himself in safety, he fell on his knees, and with tears in his eyes returned thanks to God Almighty,

who had so graciously heard his prayers, and saved him from the hands of his enemies. His brethren, who had fled into the wood when the Malays first burst into the house, now returned, and they mutually wept for joy to see each other still alive.*

After they had somewhat recovered from their fright, Mr. Haensel went to the village, and told their old Nicobar captain what had happened, upon which he sent a message to all the neighbouring villages, and in a short time great numbers of the natives arrived, well armed, and watched at the landing place all night. Had the Malays offered to return, not one of them it is probable, would have escaped with his life. The Nacata, it seems, had said, that the Danish Resident at Nancauwery was a very great sorcerer, for he had tied their hands that they could do nothing to him.†

As the Nicobar Islands abound with those celebrated eatable nests which constitute one of the luxuries of an Indian banquet, great numbers of Malays and Chinese came thither in quest of them. These visitors always created much confusion and quarrelling among the islanders, by their knavery and frequent acts of assassination, and they likewise occasioned the missionaries no small vexation and trouble. In general, fifteen or sixteen, and, in one year, nineteen large prows, full of vagabonds, came to Nancauwery. Once when Mr. Haensel was at Manjoul, a small island to the eastward of George's Channel, a prow arrived there with about sixty Malays on board, commanded by a Nacata, who called himself Sayet Ismael, a priest of the king of Queda. He was the most civil, well-behaved Malay, the missionary ever saw; and, therefore, he advised him to stay where he was, to make a regular agreement with the natives about the price of the nests, to pay faithfully for them, and to maintain good order among his men, so as to prevent all cause of complaint, and he assured him that by this means, he would obtain a good cargo. The priest took his advice, and procured a consid-

* Haensel's Letters, p. 68. † Ibid. p. 70.

erable quantity of nests, while those who followed him got none at all.*

Among these was a man who styled himself a prince of Queda, and had two Nacatas, some women, and a numerous crew on board his prow. Every where he committed the greatest acts of barbarity, and in the island of New Denmark, he murdered two of the inhabitants. Shortly after, he came to a small island in the neighbourhood of Nancauwery, where he seized upon Sayet Ismael's prow, who, in consequence of this, came to the Brethren and begged their protection. Meanwhile, the prince heard that the missionaries had obtained a great number of nests, and as he thought it would be no difficult matter to plunder them likewise, he came to Nancauwery with two large prows, filled with the most ferocious of the Malay race. They entered the mission house without any ceremony; and while Mr. Haensel, who was alone in the midst of them, was walking about, the prince inquired, whether he had any bird nests? The missionary answered in the affirmative; upon which the villian pretended that he was come to purchase them from him, and wished to see them. During this conversation, Mr. Haensel happened to step towards the door; and a Caffre servant who stood near it, imagined that he had made a sign to him to call the natives to his assistance, though, in fact, he was so much agitated, that he did not even observe him. The man, however, ran immediately into the neighbouring village, and called the people together. Meanwhile, Mr. Haensel told the prince that he should not get a single nest from him, and reproved him sharply for murdering the two men in New Denmark, who were under the protection of his sovereign. At this the barbarian flew into a violent passion, saying he would soon shew him, that he had it in his power to seize all his bird nests; and as for the two men who had been stabbed on that island, he was not bound to answer for the deed to him. †

* Haensel's Letters, p. 32, 65. † Ibid. p. 72.

The prince had scarcely finished this insulting speech, when a party of the natives unexpectedly leapt in at the windows, with drawn sabres in their hands. The Malays, alarmed beyond description, asked, What was the meaning of this? "They come," said the missionary, "to prevent your committing more murders." In a short time, the house was surrounded by the natives, both men and women, armed with sabres, spears, and bludgeons. The prince and his men now began to beg Mr. Haensel to take them under his protection; but he, instead of giving them an answer, continued to reprove them for their base and treacherous practices, among which he particularly noticed their plundering people even of their own nation: "Who then," added he, "can trust your word? You deserve punishment from those whom you have so often provoked by your injustice, and were I now only to lift up my hand, not a man of you would escape." Being sensible that they were entirely in his power, they began to entreat him to interpose in their behalf; and the prince offered to restore all he had taken. "How can you," said the missionary, "restore the lives of those you have murdered? However, you shall for once keep your word, and restore Sayet Ismael, his prow, with the whole of its cargo." The prince having readily agreed to this, Mr. Haensel informed him, that his men might go unmolested to their palongs, but that he himself must remain behind till Sayet Ismael's prow was sent to Nancauwery, and delivered up to him. As he was exceedingly terrified at this, he said, that unless he was permitted to accompany his people, the natives would certainly kill him ; and as even the priest himself interceded warmly in his behalf, Mr. Haensel consented that they should go away together. He then went out to pacify the natives; but it was with some difficulty he succeeded in appeasing their indignation against the Malays, whom they now had completely in their power. Having at length told them, that he would look upon their compliance with his request as a proof of their regard to

himself and his brethren, they were satisfied, and of their own accord made a passage through their ranks for the robbers. Still, however, their appearance was extremely formidable, as they stood on each side armed with their spears and bludgeons; and the Malays were afraid to leave the house, till Mr. Haensel, after much entreaty, agreed to accompany them to the palongs. The prince himself seized his hand, and would not let it go till he had got safe into the boat."*

Sayet Ismael returned that very night with his prow and cargo, thankful for the justice which he had obtained through means of the Brethren. For a time this event had a good effect in repressing the depredations of these ferocious visitors; but yet Mr. Haensel was much intimidated by this unpleasant occurrence, and deeply regretted the necessity he was under of holding the office of Resident or agent under government.†

In 1783, the Brethren Heinrich, Fleckner, and Raabs, three new missionaries, arrived at Nancauwery, accompanied by the mate of the vessel in which they had sailed from Tranquebar. While they were lying in the roads of Junkceylon, a French privateer came and claimed her as a lawful prize, though she belonged to a neutral state, because, on searching her, they found a few old English newspapers, the property of a Mr. Wilson, an English gentleman on board, who had escaped from one of Hyder Aly's prisons. After being long detained in a very vexatious manner, the mate and the three Brethren purchased a Malay prow for seventy-five dollars, and stole away in the night, as the Malay prince refused to grant them liberty to depart. The missionaries in Nancauwery had long been in want of many of the necessaries of life; and now, instead of receiving a supply of provisions, their number was augmented to consume what little they had, but yet they rejoiced to see their beloved brethren, and did what they could for their relief. As the

* Haensel's Letters, p. 74. † Ibid. p. 76.

prow was utterly unfit to go to sea without new sails, those which it had being nothing but old rotten mats, they wrought up their whole stock of linen and sail-cloth, and even some of their sheets, to make sails for it. When these repairs were completed, two of the missionaries left the Nicobar Islands, and returned in it to Tranquebar. The situation of those who remained in Nancauwery now became more wretched than ever. It was with great difficulty that they procured the common necessaries of life. Their constitution was completely undermined; they suffered much from continual sickness, anxiety, and toil; nor were their hearts ever cheered by the conversion of any of the natives to the Christian faith.*

With regard to religion, the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands are in a most deplorable condition. Their notions of a Supreme Being are singularly perplexed; and it was even difficult to discover among them any fixed opinion of His existence or attributes. They are not professed idolators, like most of the other Oriental nations. They have not even a particular word to express their idea of God. They use the term *Knallen*, when they speak of him; but it only signifies *above*, *on high*, and is applied to many other objects. They believe, however, that this unknown Being is good and will not hurt them; but wherein his goodness consists they neither know nor care. But though the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands pay little or no regard to a Deity, they are firm believers in the doctrine of devils; and it is to them all their religious ceremonies appear to be directed. They even ascribe the creation of the world to the *Eewee*, or Evil Spirit. When they do any thing wrong, and are reproved for it, they immediately answer, "it was not me, it was the devil that did it." If you convince them that they did it with their own hands, they usually reply "the Eewee did not make me perfect." They speak of a great many kinds of devils, all of them malicious and disposed to hurt them, if

* Haensel's Letters, p. 21, 23.

they had not among them such great and powerful sorcerers, who, by their superior ability, can catch and bring them into subjection. It is not wonderful that the conjurers should be able to impose on these poor ignorant creatures, for they really do possess astonishing dexterity. Every person who has visited the East Indies knows with what curious slight-of-hand tricks the jugglers amuse the people; but in the Nicobar Islands, where these arts are applied to what are considered as religious exercises, the deception is so great that an ordinary spectator is amazed, and is perfectly unable to account for them.*

The Brethren endeavoured to learn the Nicobar language, and to explain to them in the best manner they were able the love of God to man, and the way of salvation through a crucified Redeemer. These things the savages heard with silent attention; but that they themselves were interested in them, was more than they could comprehend. When the missionaries told them, that they had come thither for no other purpose but to make known to them their Creator and Redeemer, and begged them to reflect on what was taught them, they laughed in reply. Sometimes they even remarked, that they could not believe that the sufferings of one man could atone for the sins of another, and that, therefore, if they were wicked, what the Brethren told them concerning a crucified Saviour could do them no service; but they maintained that they were good by nature, and never did any thing wrong. When the missionaries replied, that they had but lately murdered some people, and afterwards abused the dead bodies, thrusting their spears into them, mutilating them in the most wanton manner, and at last cutting them to pieces; and asked them whether this was a proof of their natural goodness, their answer was "you do not understand the matter: these people were not fit to live; they were cannibals."†

But though the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands refused

* Haensel's Letters, p. 48, 51. † Ibid. p. 20, 48.

to embrace Christianity, they were always extremely friendly to the missionaries; and were not only forward to defend them against their enemies, as we have already seen, but in some instances they have behaved with a generosity which could scarcely have been expected of savages. The Brethren used to buy from them such articles as they needed, and to pay them with tobacco at the current price. The natives, however, even when they had nothing to sell, would come for their portion of tobacco, which the missionaries never refused as long as they had any themselves, until, by the non-arrival of the ship, they were left entirely without it. They then told the captain of the village, that as they had no more tobacco, the people need bring no more provisions, for they had nothing to give them in exchange. The captain did as they desired; but yet, on the very next day, the Brethren were more plentifully supplied than ever with the articles they wanted. The people would not even wait for payment; but hung up their fruit and meat about the house, and went away. The missionaries called after them and told them how they were situated, to which their generous visitors replied, "when you had plenty of tobacco, you gave us as much as you could spare; now, though you have no more of it, we have provisions enough, and you shall have what you want, as long as we have any, till you get more tobacco." This promise they most faithfully performed. Indeed, though they were an ignorant, barbarous, wicked race, yet in general they were kind and gentle in their dispositions, except when roused by jealousy or other provocations, and then their uncontrouled headstrong passions drove them into the greatest excesses.*

Though the failure of a mission must ultimately be referred to the sovereignty of God, yet as there are generally various external circumstances which contribute to this end, it may not be improper to notice some of those particular

* Haensel's Letters. 27, 43.

causes which operated in rendering abortive the labours of the Brethren in the Nicobar Islands.

First, the extreme difficulty of the language. Though the missionaries had an opportunity of conversing with some of the people in a kind of bastard Portuguese, yet it was necessary to acquire their own language, in order to preach the gospel to the inhabitants in general. With this view they engaged one of the natives, called Philip, as their teacher. The language, however, is remarkably barren of words, and the people themselves are of so indolent a turn, that even talking seems a burden to them; and as long as they can express their meaning by signs, they are unwilling to open their lips. If a stranger enter their houses, they sit still and look at him; or, perhaps, pointing to some food, give him a sign to sit down and eat. There he may remain for hours, without hearing a syllable drop from their lips, unless he can begin himself, and then they will answer him in a friendly manner. Besides, both the men and women have always a large piece of the betel or areca nut in their mouths, which renders their speech so indistinct, that it is scarcely possible to distinguish between the sputtering sounds they make. As to books and vocabularies, the Brethren found none; and though a few of them made some proficiency in the language, yet none of them acquired such a knowledge of it as to be able to explain fully to the natives the way of salvation through Jesus Christ.*

Secondly, The unhealthiness of the climate. In consequence of this, most of the missionaries were cut off before they could learn the language, or just when they had advanced so far, that they were able to converse with the natives; and thus their successors had to begin the work anew, and the prospect of accomplishing the chief design of the mission was put off from year to year. During the comparatively short period of its existence, eleven worthy missionaries found their graves in Nancauwery, and thirteen more died

* Haensel's Letters, p. 61, 64.

soon after their return to Tranquebar, in consequence of the malignant fevers, and the obstructions in the liver, which they had contracted on that island. Besides, these dreadful disorders, and the seasoning fever, which every person must at first suffer, are accompanied with such pain in the head, such dejection of spirits, such constant sickness, that the mind is perfectly stupified, and is overwhelmed with such desponding views of the possibility of relief and of future usefulness, as renders a person altogether unfit for exercising that unremitting diligence, that active exertion, which are necessary in the conduct of a mission.*

Thirdly, These evils were all aggravated by the Brethren's mode of life. Their great exertions in clearing and planting the land, and in other laborious exercises which necessity imposed upon them, were a principal cause of the various disorders which prevailed among them. To this we may add, that during some of the latter years of the mission, there was a want of that love among the Brethren, and of that union in the prosecution of their labours, which should ever reign among missionaries, and which are so essential to their success.†.

In consequence of the various difficulties of the attempt, the loss of so many valuable lives, the want of Brethren to devote themselves to so hopeless a cause, and the enormous expense of the undertaking, a resolution was at length taken to give up the mission. In 1787, Mr. Haensel, who had now returned to Tranquebar, was deputed to Nancauwery, to bring away the only missionary who still remained, and all the effects belonging to the mission. He was accompanied by a lieutenant, a corporal, and six private soldiers, who were sent by the governor to take possession of the premises, and to whom he delivered up every thing he could not carry away. No language can describe the painful sensations which crowded into his mind while he was executing this disagreeable task, and making a conclusion of the Brethren's

* Haensel's Letters, p. 62. † Ibid. p. 22, 63.

labours in the Nicobar Islands. The sight of the burying ground where eleven of his fellow-missionaries lay, particularly affected him. He often visited this place, sat down, and wept over their graves. His last farewell with the natives, who flocked to him from all the neighbouring islands, was truly affecting. They wept and howled for grief, and begged that the Brethren would soon return.*

The mission on the continent of India, though not attended with so many trying circumstances, was followed by no greater success. Several Brethren, indeed, went to Serampore and Patna, and resided in these places for some time, in the hope of ultimately promoting the interests of religion among the Hindoos; but in consequence of various circumstances, these settlements were at last relinquished. In Tranquebar, the labours of the Brethren proved equally fruitless; and as the mission was extremely expensive, it was finally abandoned about the year 1803.†

SECTION X.

Cape of Good Hope.‡

IN 1736, George Schmidt, a man of remarkable zeal and of undaunted courage, was sent by the Brethren to the Cape of Good Hope, with the view of introducing Christianity among the Hottentots. On his arrival in that colony, he fixed on a spot for a settlement near Serjeant's river, and proceeded to build himself a hut and to plant a garden.

* Haensel's Letters, p. 26. † Periodical Accounts, vol. v. p. 13; vol. iii. p. 160, 221.

‡ This country was colonized by the Dutch East India Company at the instance of Van Riebek, a surgeon of one of their India ships, about the year 1651. It was surrendered to the British in 1795, restored to the Dutch by the Treaty of Amiens in the year 1802, but was again

Having collected a number of the Hottentots to this place, he found their language not only extremely difficult to learn, but very unfit for conveying the truths of religion to their un-

taken by the English after the renewal of hostilities, and remains in their possession.

The territory extends about 550 miles in length from west to east, and 315 in breadth from south to north. It lies between 30° and 34½° south latitude, and 18° and 28° of east longitude; and is divided into four districts, viz. the Cape district, that of Stellenbosch and Drakensteen, that of Zwellendam, and that of Graaf Reynet.

Mr. Barrow, who travelled throughout the southern part of Africa, gives us the following description of this country, and its native inhabitants:

"A very great portion of this extensive territory may be considered as an unprofitable waste, unfit for any sort of culture, or even to be employed as pasture for the support of cattle. Level plains, consisting of a hard impenetrable surface of clay, thinly sprinkled over with crystalized sand, condemned to perpetual drought, and producing only a few straggling tufts of acrid, saline, and succulent plants, and chains of vast mountains that are either totally naked, or clothed in parts with sour grasses only, or such plants as are noxious to animal life, compose at least one half of the colony of the Cape. Two of these chains of mountains, called the *Zwarte Berg*, or Black Mountain, and the *Neuveldt Gebergte*, inclose together the great Karro, or dry desert, extending nearly 300 miles in length and 80 in breadth, and uninhabited by any human creature. Behind the town called Cape-town, are the mountains called the Table Mountain, the Devil's Mountain, the Lion's Head, and the Lion's Back. The Table Mountain is a stupendous mass of naked rock, the north front of which, directly facing the town, is a horizontal line, or very nearly so, about two miles in length. The bold face that rises almost at right angles to meet this line has the appearance of the ruined walls of some gigantic fortress; and these walls rise above the level of Table Bay to the height of 3582 feet. The Devil's Mountain on the one side, and the Lion's Head on the other, make, in fact, with the Table, but one mountain: the height of the former is 3315, and that of the latter 2160 feet. The Devil's Mountain is broken into irregular points, but the upper part of the Lion's Head is a solid mass of stone, rounded and fashioned like a work of art, and resembling very much, from some points of view, the dome of St. Paul's placed upon a high cone-shaped hill. From these mountains descend several rivulets which fall into Table Bay, and False Bay; but the principal rivers of the colony are the Berg or Mountain River, the Breede or Broad River, called also the Orange River, which has its periodical inundations like the Nile, and its cataracts; the Sunday River, and the Great Fish River, which is the boundary of the colony to the east.

The climate of the Cape appears to be in general free from the extremes of either heat or cold, and not in reality unhealthy. It has been usual with the Dutch to consider the year as consisting of two periods, called the good and bad monsoon; but "as these," Mr. Barrow observes, "are neither regular in their returns, nor certain in their continuance, the division into four seasons, as in Europe, appears

tutored minds, and therefore he began to teach them Dutch. In his school he had generally from thirty to fifty scholars; and in the course of a few years, a number of them not only

to be more proper. The spring, reckoned from the beginning of September to that of December, is the most agreeable season; the summer, from December to March, is the hottest; the autumn, from March to June, is variable weather, generally fine, and the latter part very pleasant, the winter, from June to September, though in general pleasant, is frequently very stormy, rainy, and cold.

Cape-town, the capital of this colony, and indeed the only assemblage of houses which deserves the name of a town, is pleasantly situate at the head of Table Bay, on a sloping plain that rises with an easy ascent to the feet of the Devil's Hill, the Table Mountain, and the Lion's Head, before mentioned. The town, consisting of about 1100 houses, built with regularity, and kept in neat order, is disposed into straight and parallel streets, intersecting each other at right angles. Many of the streets are open and airy, with canals of water running through them, walled in, and planted on each side with oaks; others are narrow and ill paved. Three or four squares give an openness to the town. In one is held the public market; another is the common resort of the peasantry with their waggons; and a third, near the shore of the bay, and between the town and the castle, serves as a parade for the exercising of the troops.

The general name which the Hottentots bear among themselves in every part of the country, is *Quaiquæ*. Those which are in the possession of the Dutch, and were formerly the natives of the Cape, suffer the most abject and cruel slavery, on which account their number is rapidly on the decline, and it is presumable the name of Hottentot, as a slave, will be remembered only as the name of a deceased person to a posterity not very remote. There are still, however, several tribes, as the Namaquas, the Bosjesmen or Boschemen, and the Gonaquas, who still preserve their liberty and independence. "The former vary but little in their persons and dress from the Hottentots of the Cape and the Gonaquas, though their language is widely different. The Bosjesmens, or men of the bushes, so called from their lying in ambush in their predatory expeditions against the farmers of the colony, are, says Mr. Barrow, an extraordinary race of people. In their persons they are extremely diminutive: the tallest of the men measured only four feet nine inches, and the tallest women only four feet four inches. One of these, who had several children, measured only three feet nine inches. Their colour, their hair, and the general turn of their features, evidently denote a common origin with the other tribes of Hottentots, though the latter, in point of personal appearance, have greatly the advantage. The Bosjesmen indeed are amongst the ugliest of all human beings. The flat nose, high cheek-bones, prominent chin, and concave visage, partake much of the apeish character, which their keen eye, always in motion, tends not to diminish. Their bellies are uncommonly protuberant, and their backs hollow; but their limbs seem to be in general well turned and well proportioned. Their activity is incredibly great. The klip-springing antelope can scarcely excel them in leaping from rock to rock; and they are said to be so swift that on rough ground, or up

learned to read, but he had the pleasure of baptizing several of them. As various impediments, however, were thrown in his way, he judged it expedient to return to Europe in 1744,

the sides of mountains, horsemen have no chance with them. The Bosjesman, however, though in every respect a Hottentot, yet in his turn of mind differs very widely from those who live in the colony. In his disposition he is lively and cheerful, and in his person active. His talents are far above mediocrity; and averse to idleness, he is seldom without employment. Confined generally to their hovels by day, for fear of being surprised and taken by the farmers, they sometimes dance on moon light nights from the setting to the rising of the sun. This cheerfulness is the more extraordinary as the morsel they procure to support existence is earned with danger and fatigue. The Bosjesmen neither cultivate the ground nor breed cattle, and their country yields few natural productions that serve for food. The bulbs of the iris, a few roots of a bitter and pungent taste, and the larvæ of ants and locusts are all it furnishes; and when these fail they are driven to the necessity of hazarding a toilsome and dangerous expedition into the colony."

We learn from M. Vaillant, a French traveller, that the Gonaquas resemble in their customs, manners, and features, the natives of Caffraria, and are probably a mixed breed of Caffres and Hottentots. The country of the Gonaquas, says he, into which I travelled, did not contain 3000 inhabitants, in an extent of thirty or forty leagues. These people did not resemble those degenerated and miserable Hottentots who pine in the heart of the Dutch colonies, contemptible and despised inhabitants, who bear no marks of their ancient origin but an empty name; and who enjoy, at the expense of their liberty, only a little peace, purchased at a dear rate, by the excessive labour to which they are subjected on the plantations, and by the despotism of their chiefs, who are always sold to government. I had here an opportunity of admiring a free and brave people, valuing nothing but independence, and never obeying any impulse foreign to nature."

Traduced as the Hottentots have been by civilized nations, as hardly deserving the name of human beings; yet they possess many excellent qualities and dispositions that indicate susceptibility of intellectual and moral improvement; and in humane tenderness and hospitality far exceed many civilized nations. Our author informs us, that " separated from Europe by an immensity of sea, and from the Dutch colonies by desert mountains and impassable rocks, too much communication with these people has not yet led their women to the excesses of our depravation. On the contrary, when they have the happiness of becoming mothers, nature addresses them in a different language; they assume, more than in any other country, a spirit suitable to their state, and readily give themselves up to those cares which she imperiously requires of them."

" A physiognomist, or, if the reader please, a modern wit, would entertain his company by assigning to the Hottentot, in the scale of beings, a place between a man and the ourang-outang. I cannot, however, consent to this systematic arrangement; the qualities which I esteem in him will never suffer him to be degraded so far; and I have found his figure sufficiently beautiful, because I experienced the goodness of his

in the hope of obtaining the removal of them, and of procuring some of the Brethren to assist him in his labours. He left his small congregation, consisting of forty-seven persons

heart. It must indeed be allowed, that there is something peculiar in features, which in a certain degree separates him from the generality of mankind. His cheek-bones are exceedingly prominent; so that his face being very broad in that part, and the jaw-bones, on the contrary, extremely narrow, his visage continues still decreasing even to the point of the chin. This configuration gives him an air of lankness, which makes his head appear very much disproportioned, and too small for his full and plump body. His flat nose rises scarcely half an inch at its greatest elevation; and his nostrils, which are excessively wide, often exceed in height the ridge of his nose. His mouth is large, and furnished with small teeth well enamelled and perfectly white: his eyes, very beautiful and open, incline a little towards the nose, like those of the Chinese: and to the sight and touch his hair has the resemblance of wool; it is very short, curls naturally, and in colour is as black as ebony. He has very little hair, yet he employs no small care to pull out by the roots part of what he has; but the natural thinness of his eyebrows saves him from this trouble in that part. Though he has no beard but upon the upper lip, below the nose, and at the extremity of the chin, he never fails to pluck it out as soon as it appears. This gives him an effeminate look; which, joined to the natural mildness of his character, destroys that commanding fierceness usual among savages. The women, with more delicacy of features, exhibit the same characteristic marks in their figure: they are equally well made. The sound of their voice is soft; and their idiom, passing through the throat, is not destitute of harmony. When they speak, they employ a great many gestures, which give power and gracefulness to their arms."

"The Hottentots are naturally timid; their phlegmatic coolness and their serious looks give them an air of reserve, which they never lay aside, even at the most joyful moments; while, on the contrary, all other black or tawny nations give themselves up to pleasure with the liveliest joy and without any restraint.

"A profound indifference to the affairs of life inclines them very much to inactivity and indolence: the keeping of their flocks, and the care of procuring a subsistence, are the only objects that occupy their thoughts. They never follow hunting as sportsmen, but like people oppressed and tormented by hunger. In short, forgetting the past, and being under no uneasiness for the future, they are struck only with the present; and it is that which alone engages their attention.

They are however (observes M. Vaillant) the best, the kindest, and the most hospitable of people. Whoever travels among them may be sure of finding food and lodging; and though they will receive presents, yet they never ask for any thing. If the traveller has a long journey to accomplish, and if they learn from the information he requires that there are no hopes of his soon meeting with other hordes, that which he is going to quit supply him with provisions as far as their circumstances will allow, and with every thing else necessary for his continuing his journey, and reaching the place of his destination. Such are these people, or at least such did they appear to me, in all

under the care of a pious man; but on his arrival in Holland, the East India Company, to his inexpressible grief, refused him permission to return, some persons having foolishly insinuated, that the conversion of the Hottentots would injure the interests of the colony. His little congregation, however, kept together for some time, in earnest expectation of the return of their beloved teacher. They used to meet together, it appears, and read a Dutch Bible he had left among them. Even so late as 1786, some of the Brethren who touched at the Cape in their way from the East Indies, saw an Hottentot woman baptized by Schmidt, who had a Dutch Bible which she received from him, and who expressed an ardent desire for the renewal of the mission. A new application was therefore made to the East India Company for permission to send missionaries to the Cape of Good Hope; and though former applications of the same kind had uniformly failed, the present happily succeeded, and accordingly measures were immediately taken to carry the proposal into execution.*

In 1792, three of the Brethren, Hendrick Marsveld, Dan-

* Periodical Accounts, 122, 166.

the innocence of manners and of a pastoral life. They excite the idea of mankind in a state of infancy.

"This favourable character of the Hottentots in general is confirmed by Mr. Barrow, who says of them "low as they are sunk in the scale of humanity, their character seems to have been much traduced and misrepresented. It is true there is nothing prepossessing in the appearance of a Hottentot, but infinitely less so in the many ridiculous and false relations by which the public have been abused. They are a mild, quiet and timid people; perfectly harmless, honest, faithful; and though extremely phlegmatic, they are kind and affectionate to each other, and not incapable of strong attachments. A Hottentot would share his last morsel with his companions. They have little of that kind of art or cunning that savages generally possess. If accused of crimes of which they have been guilty, they generally divulge the truth. They seldom quarrel among themselves or make use of provoking language. Though naturally of a fearful and cowardly disposition, they will run into the face of danger, if led on by their superiors; and they suffer pain with great patience. They are by no means deficient in talent, but they possess little exertion to call it into action; the want of which has been the principal cause of their ruin."

iel Schwinn, and John Christian Kuehnel, sailed for the Cape of Good Hope with the view of renewing the mission in that colony. On their arrival, they met with a very friendly reception from the governor, and many other persons of the first respectability; but by the Dutch Boors, a base worthless race of men, they were regarded almost as a species of monsters. Alarmed at the idea of their instructing the Hottentots, some of these miscreants proposed that the Brethren should immediately be put to death; and they, at the same time, endeavoured to prejudice the poor creatures against them, by circulating the most frightful reports concerning them; "They will treat you very kindly at first," said they, "but if you listen to them, more of them will come, and then they will seize on you and send you as salves to Batavia."—"Only wait a little," said a constable to two Hottentots whom he met on the road, "you will be well thwacked by them. I have heard that they beat their scholars most unmercifully, and have brought a whole chest of bamboos with them for that purpose." It was afterwards reported that the missionaries taught the Hottentots to steal, to murder, and to commit other similar attrocious crimes.*

As they were recommended to establish their first settlement at Bavian's Kloof, about a hundred and thirty miles east of Capetown, the Brethren proceeded to visit that part of the country without delay. It was the very place where George Schmidt had resided, and on their arrival the spot was pointed out to them where his house had stood. A large piece of the wall was still standing, in the garden were several fruit trees, and here and there appeared some ruins of walls, the remains of the Hottentots' cottages. Having heard that a woman was still alive who had been baptized by him, they enquired for her; upon which some went to her hut and led her forward, for she was now so old and feeble, that she could not walk by herself. She acknowledged that she had forgot all she had learned from him, and, indeed,

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 165, 271, 276, 291.

she appeared as ignorant as the rest; but she mentioned that she had still a book in her possession, which she had received from him. It proved to be a Dutch New Testament, and was carefully inclosed in a leather bag wrapped in two sheep skins. She could formerly read it, but now she was almost blind; another woman, however, who had learned to read from one of Schmidt's converts, read it to her.*

Having fixed on this spot for a settlement, and received a grant of it from the Dutch government, the Brethren proceeded to build a house for their accommodation, with the assistance of some of the neighbouring Hottentots, whom they engaged for this purpose. Notwithstanding the keen opposition of the Boors, who often attempted to detain them by force, these poor oppressed people collected to this place in considerable numbers, and it was truly astonishing to behold the attention and earnestness with which they listened to the news of salvation. They looked as if they would drink up the words which flowed from the lips of their teachers; and many of them, when they heard of the love and suffering of the Redeemer, were so much affected as to burst into tears. Such reverential silence, such solemn devotion, appeared among them, as are rarely to be seen in Christian assemblies.†

In October 1794, the number of Hottentots who lived with the Brethren had so much increased, that there were sometimes near two hundred present at their meetings, several of whom had already been baptized as the first fruits of the mission. Besides instructing them in the principles of religion, the missionaries had opened a school for teaching them to read the Dutch language. It was divided into three classes; the men's class containing thirty scholars, the women's seventy, and the children's seventy, in all one hundred and seventy. In fine weather the school for the women and children used to meet in the open air, under the shade of

* Period. Accounts, vo. i. p. 273, 276, 278, 285.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 245, 282, 294, 305, 307.

a large pear tree in the garden, which was supposed to have been planted by the venerable George Schmidt.*

Alarmed at the progress of the Brethren, the neighbouring farmers renewed their opposition to their labours; and with the view of dispersing the Hottentots, they represented to the Dutch government that their cattle were so numerous, the country could not support them, and that there was a necessity for driving them back to the places from whence they came. This statement, however, was perfectly false. The whole stock of the settlement at that period consisted only of one horse, five oxen, five cows, two calves, two sheep, and a hundred goats. Misled, however, by the representations of the Boors, the government at the Cape issued orders to the Hottentots to drive back their cattle to their former places of abode. This filled them, as well as the missionaries, with inexpressible concern; yet many of them declared, in the strongest terms, that they would not forsake their teachers, let the consequences be what they would. Happily the triumph of their enemies was of short duration. A gentleman from the Cape, who visited the settlement soon after, informed the government, on his return, that the statement of the farmers was so far from being correct, that at least five hundred head of cattle might be maintained on the ground. In consequence of this information, the commissary revoked the order for the removal of the Hottentots' cattle, and that gentleman purchased the land, chiefly, as he said, with a view to the security of the mission.†

Being frustrated in this attempt, upwards of a hundred of the Boors rose in arms, determined to obtain, by force, a redress of their various grievances, among which the instruction of the Hottentots was not forgotten. For several weeks reports of the most frightful nature daily reached the missionaries, and kept them in a state of constant alarm. One day, it was said that a troop of the insurgents was to come to the settlement, to take them prisoners, and send them to Batavia;

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 294, 316. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 5, 19.

another day it was reported that many of the farmers who would not join the rebels, had fled for safety to the Cape, as the latter threatened to put to death all who refused to assist them. One day, it was said that the enemy designed first to come and set fire to Bavian's Kloof, and then to march to the Cape; and on the following day, report succeeded report that they were on their way to the settlement, and were already fast approaching. Alarmed by this rumour, the Christian Hottentots flocked together, crying, " O that they would but spare our teachers!" and they declared, at the same time, that if the Brethren fled, they would all fly with them, and if they resolved to stay, they also would remain and die with them. But as the missionaries perceived that many of them were greatly terrified, and stopped merely for their sakes, they told them not to remain on their account, but that each should act as he judged best himself. Numbers of them, particularly the women and children, now fled to the mountains, and hid themselves among the rocks and bushes. Before leaving the settlement, they came to take farewell of their teachers. It was truly an affecting scene. The poor creatures, overwhelmed with grief, burst into cries and tears, and at last the missionaries were likewise so overcome, that they could scarcely bear to notice them any longer.*

The nationals, as the insurgents styled themselves, after the example of their revolutionary brethren in Europe, retreated at that time; but a troop of them returned two days after, and sent notice to the Brethren at Bavian's Kloof, that they were assembled at such a place, and that, if the missionaries wished to know what they had determined concerning the school, they might come thither. Anxious to bring matters to an accommodation, or at least to learn with certainty the views of their enemies, one of the Brethren ventured to go to the place appointed, and on his arrival he found that some of the articles of their memorial to government were to the following effect:

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 26.

"That they would allow no Moravians to live in the country and instruct the Hottentots; for as there were many Christians in the colony who received no education, it was not proper that the Hottentots should be made wiser than them, but that they should remain in the same state as before.

"That the Hottentots should live among the farmers, and not collect together at Bavian's Kloof.

"That such Hottentots as were born on a farmer's land should serve him until they were twenty-five years of age, before they received wages.

"That all Boschemen* caught by the colonists should remain their slaves for life.

"That it was never meant the Moravians should be employed among the Hottentots, but among the Boschemen."†

Such were some of the resolutions which these fierce insurgents had passed in the name of liberty and equality! A troop of them were actually on their march to Bavian's Kloof, to destroy the Brethren's school, but being met on the road by a deputy from government, with terms of accommodation, they returned to consult with their comrades, threatening, however, soon to renew the visit. A few days after, the Brethren observed two horsemen riding towards their house, but their apprehensions were soon dispelled, as they discovered them to be persons of their acquaintance. They were the messengers, however, of evil tidings. After remaining silent for sometime, one of them informed the missionaries that they brought an order to them from the commandant Pissani, to quit the place within three days, and to go either to Capetown, or to some other part of the country inhabited by Dutch citizens, on pain of being severely punished in case of disobedience. The Brethren

† Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 33.

* A savage people of the Hottentot race who inhabit the colony, and from the circumstance of their lurking among the bushes, from whence they shoot travellers with their poisoned arrows, are called Boschemen, or Bushmen.

were thunderstruck at this intelligence, and asked what they had done to merit such treatment. To this the other replied, he knew nothing of the matter but a party of eight men had arrived at his house, and commanded him to repair to them with that order, and that Pissani himself was marching behind the mountains, to the Cape, at the head of eight hundred men. These painful tidings flew like lightning among the Hottentots who still remained in the settlement. Old and young flocked to the Brethren's house, lamenting their departure with a thousand tears. Resistance, however, was vain, and even delay might be dangerous.*

Having employed the following day in loading two waggons with their goods, the missionaries prepared to follow, in a cart drawn by ten oxen, into which they put such articles as might be necessary on the journey. Early next morning, all the Hottentots assembled before their house, and it was with difficulty they were persuaded to stay at home, for many of them positively declared they would go and die with their teachers. Having committed their house and garden to the care of some of the baptized, the Brethren left their beloved congregation with a sorrowful heart, yet not without a secret hope of soon returning to them. In this expectation they were not disappointed. On their arrival at Capetown, they waited on the governor, and on informing him of what had happened, he expressed his astonishment at the presumption and arrogance of Pissani, but added, they had acted wisely in obeying his orders, for as the insurgents were exceedingly enraged, they might have proceeded to extremities, in case of resistance. By his permission they immediately returned to Bavian's Kloof, where they were received by the poor forlorn Hottentots with tears of joy.†

In August 1795, the Cape of Good Hope was taken by the British forces under the command of general Craig; and as the mission was still an object of hatred among the far-

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 33. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 35.

mers, the Brethren soon after sent Marsveld, one of their number, to wait on his excellency, and to request his protection for themselves and their people. The late Dutch governor, it appears, had recommended them to the English commander; and, accordingly, when Marsveld, waited upon him, he returned him a very friendly answer, saying, that they should continue their labours, and might rest assured of his favour and protection. He soon after gave them liberty to cut timber for building a chapel; and in various instances shewed himself favourable to the mission.*

It was not long, indeed, before the Brethren experienced a new instance of the gracious care of Providence over them, and of the friendship of the English commander. Some of the neighbouring farmers had collected together upwards of a hundred armed men, for the purpose of carrying their late barbarous resolution into execution, by one bold decisive blow. Their rendevouz was at the house of a man in the vicinity, who at first had been extremely friendly to the missionaries, but was now one of the most determined enemies. They were already assembled at this place, when a message was delivered to them from the English general, who had received notice of their design, that if any outrage was committed on the missionaries, the perpetrators of it should assuredly be brought to justice, and punished in the severest manner. Finding their design discovered, and the government determined to punish them, the conspirators quitted their leader and dispersed to their homes, without molesting the missionaries.†

By degrees, the hostility of the farmers to the missionaries began to subside, not indeed from any satisfaction which they took in the improvement of the Hottentots, but merely from discovering that it might be turned to their own advantage. When the Brethren were erecting a smith's shop in the settlement, some of the neighbouring Boors were not only displeased, but agreed never to purshase a single article

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 42, 44, 47. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 82.

from them, nor to give them any work; yet scarcely was the building completed, when several of these very persons came for knives and other articles; and some, when they had purchased them at a moderate price, carried them to Cape-town and other places, and sold them for more than double the sum. Similar to this was their conduct with regard to provisions. Having failed in destroying the settlement by open violence, they threatened that they would starve the missionaries and their people out of the country. Accordingly, when the Brethren were building their mill, and required a considerable supply of corn, salt, wine, and other articles, on account of the number of hands they employed, the farmers carried their threats into execution for some time, and distressed them not a little for want of provisions. But at length these very persons brought them as large supplies as they needed; and even one of those who had conspired to destroy the place, sent a waggon with corn to the settlement, at a season when it brought the highest price, and sold it cheaper than they expected to have found it in the country. Most of them, indeed, were convinced, by experience, that the gospel was beneficial to the temporal as well as to the spiritual interests of the colony, and now preferred employing Christian rather than Pagan Hottentots in their service. This was so much the case, that it became a common practice with the Hottentots to represent themselves as inhabitants of Bavian's Kloof, though, perhaps, they had never seen the place; and as they often disgraced themselves by their ill conduct, the Brethren, in order to prevent such impositions, found it necessary to give certificates to their people when they went to labour with the farmers.*

The settlement of the Brethren at Bavian's Kloof was now an object of general curiosity in the country, particularly to the inhabitants of Cape-town, many of whom came thither as to a place of fashionable resort, and were no less pleased than astonished to see the vast improvement which

* Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 183, 188, 244; vol. iv. p. 33.

had been effected on the character and habits of the Hottentots, whom they had been accustomed to consider as among the most degraded of the human race.* Among these visitors was Mr. Barrow, the traveller, who has given us the following interesting account of the state of the settlement about the end of the year 1797.

"Proceeding up the valley through which the Endless River meanders, we halted late in the evening at a place called Bavian's Kloof, where there is a small establishment of Moravian missionaries. Early next morning I was awakened by some of the finest voices I had ever heard, and on looking out, saw a group of female Hottentots sitting on the ground. It was Sunday, and they had assembled thus early to chaunt the morning hymn. They were all neatly dressed in printed cotton gowns. A sight so very different from what we had hitherto been in the habit of observing with regard to this unhappy class of beings, could not fail of proving grateful, and at the same time it excited a degree of curiosity as to the nature of the establishment. The good fathers, who were three in number, were well disposed to satisfy every question put to them. They were men of the middle age, plain and decent in their dress, cleanly in their persons, of modest manners, meek and humble in their deportment, but intelligent and lively in conversation, zealous in the cause of their mission, yet free from bigotry or enthusiasm. Every thing in the place partook of that neatness and simplicity, which were the strongest features in the outline of their character. The church they had constructed was a plain neat building, their mill for grinding corn, was superior to any in the colony; their garden was in high order, and produced abundance of vegetables for the use of the table. Almost every thing that had been done was the work of their own hands. Agreeably to the rules of the society of which they were members, each of them had learned some useful

* Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 184.

profession. One was skilled in every branch of smith's work, the second was a shoemaker, and the third a tailor.

"These missionaries have succeeded in bringing together in one society, upwards of six hundred Hottentots, and their numbers are daily increasing. These live in small huts dispersed over the valley, to each of which was attached a piece of ground for raising vegetables, and their houses and gardens were very neat and comfortable; numbers of the poor in England not so good, and few better. Those Hottentots who chose to learn the respective trades of the missionaries; were paid for their labour as soon as they could earn wages. Some hired themselves out by the week, month, or year to the neighbouring peasantry, others made mats and brooms for sale; some bred poultry, and others found means to subsist by their cattle, sheep, and horses. Many of the women and children of the soldiers belonging to the Hottentot corps, reside at Bavian's Kloof, where they are much more likely to acquire industrious habits than by remaining in the camp.

"On Sundays they all regularly attend the performance of divine service, and it is astonishing how ambitious they are to appear at church neat and clean. Of about three hundred that composed the congregation, about half were dressed in coarse printed cottons, and the other half in the ancient sheep's skin dresses; and it appeared on enquiry, that the former were the first who had been brought within the pale of the church; a proof that their external circumstances at least had suffered nothing from their change of life. Persuasion and example had convinced them, that cleanliness in their persons, not only added much to the comforts of life, but was one of the greatest preservatives of health, and that the little trifles of money they had to spare, was much better applied in procuring decent covering for the body, than in the purchase of spirits and tobacco, articles so far from being necessaries, that they might justly be considered as the most pernicious evils.

"The deportment of the Hottentot congregation during divine service was truly devout. The discourse delivered by one of the fathers was short, but full of good sense, pathetic, and well suited to the occasion. Tears flowed abundantly from the eyes of those to whom it was particularly addressed. The females sung in a style that was plaintive and affecting, and their voices were in general sweet and harmonious."*

Mr. Barrow mentions various other circumstances relative to the Brethren's settlement at Bavian's Kloof; but as in some instances he has already been anticipated, and as in others he is not perfectly correct, we think it unnecessary to notice them.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Brethren's settlement was visited by a fever of a bilious nature, which generally makes its appearance in the colony every five or six years, spreads over the whole country, and commits terrible havock both among the Hottentots and the white people. In the present instance, scarcely a house was free from it; and when it once enters a family, not an individual escapes. With the view of attending to the poor creatures as carefully as possible, the Brethren agreed that each of them should take his week in visiting the sick in certain divisions. By this arrangement, every missionary and his wife had daily fifty or sixty patients to see, and to afford them what assistance was in their power, both temporal and spiritual. In this work, they had to make a circuit of four or five miles; and as three, four, or even more persons, often lay ill in the same house, it was not only a very laborious, but a dangerous service. When they crept into the Hottentots' kraals, and beheld the poor creatures lying sick on a sheep's skin spread on the bare ground, without medical aid, and often without a morsel to eat, while, perhaps, a number of naked helpless children lay around them, crying for hunger, their hearts were ready to sink in despon-

* Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa, vol. i. 351.

dency and sorrow at the melancholy scene: but when they spoke to them of the love of Christ, when they saw with what eagerness they listened to the news of salvation, when they beheld them weep for joy in extolling the loving kindness of God in sending the gospel to them, their hearts were elevated with gratitude and praise. The Brethren exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to procure them a little food and medicine; but as the number of objects was so great, it was not possible for them to supply them all. After some months, however, during which they often buried six, ten, and even twelve corpses a-week, the disease greatly abated, and at length disappeared from the country.*

Though the missionaries and their people were no longer in danger of being murdered by the farmers, yet they were not altogether unmolested by them. About this time, one or two of these miscreants seized on a tract of excellent pasture land belonging to the Hottentots, which they had improved and fertilized with great labour. This cruel encroachment the Brethren were determined to resist: but notwithstanding the justice of their cause, it occasioned them a good deal of trouble. Once, however, when they were at the Cape on this errand, Mr. Rhynefeld, the fiscal, or justice of the peace, bore the following honourable testimony to the importance and utility of their labours: "The mission at Bavian's Kloof," said he, "had now existed for ten years, and though about a thousand Hottentots were now collected in that place, yet they were so distinguished by their sober and orderly behaviour, that he had never received any complaints from that quarter. They did not, in fact, need a fiscal, though in other places where three hundred people lived together, a justice of the peace had enough to do. In the late season of famine, sickness, and mortality, no relief had been granted to the Hottentots of Bavian's Kloof: the missionaries alone had borne the burden. The more, therefore, they deserved of humanity, the more unjust

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 23, 25, 26.

were the encroachments made upon them." The British government at the Cape, in the decision which they passed on the subject, endeavoured to combine justice to the Hottentots with lenity to the farmers; reinstating the former in most of their lawful possessions, but yet leaving a part in the hands of the latter, as it could not be restored without a material loss to them; and as an indemnification for this, the government granted the Hottentots a further tract of land, and even appropriated a sum of money to assist them in draining and cultivating it. This new land being situated in a valley, was subject to inundations; but the Brethren hoped to remedy this inconvenience, by cutting two broad and deep ditches, one of them near three miles in length. In this expectation, however, they were disappointed; for, after cutting a canal to carry off the torrents which pour down from the neighbouring mountains, they found it was impossible to secure the ground from inundations.*

In 1802, the Cape of Good Hope was restored to the Dutch by the peace of Amiens; and the new government began soon after to raise a corps of Hottentots for the defence of the colony. Among these were about thirty of the inhabitants of Bavian's Kloof, who were so distinguished by their good behaviour, that they were all appointed corporals. The captain bore honourable testimony to their conduct, and observed, that while others employed their leisure hours in idleness and folly, they met together to sing hymns and to converse about spiritual things. Having been desired by their officers to declare, whether they were satisfied with their treatment; they replied in the affirmative, only, they said, there was one circumstance they found hard to bear, the continual swearing of the soldiers, a thing they had never been accustomed to before. With the view of promoting their spiritual interests, as well as of affording the other Hottentots the means of instruction, one of the Brethren was sent by desire of government, to attend them in the camp

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 98, 278, 217; vol. iv. p. 328.

near Cape-town. During his stay with them, he not only preached to a large congregation on the Sabbath, but he kept a school both with the adults and children during the week.*

Soon after the Cape was restored to the Dutch, the commissary-general De Mist undertook a journey through the colony, with the view of inquiring into the state of the country, and particularly the causes of those distractions under which it had long laboured. Among his attendants was Dr. Lichtenstein, who, though a violent and ignorant declaimer against other missionary institutions, has given a tolerably fair account of the settlement of the Brethren at Bavian's Kloof. As it may be considered as the testimony of an enemy of missions to the utility of their labours, we shall here introduce such parts of it as are interesting and at the same time not erroneous. "After we had rested a short time," says he, "we were carried to a table extremely well set out, and all prepared by the good wives themselves, every one in her proper department. Instead of a prayer before the meal, the five couple sung a verse of a hymn, and then with the utmost cheerfulness, and in a style equally removed from studied seriousness and from frivolity, entered into conversation with us. This was carried on in a manner which shewed so much correctness of thinking, and soundness of understanding, that our good opinion of them was increased every moment: we were so well entertained, that we did not break up the party till near midnight.

"The next morning the different parts of the institution were shewn to us; the church in the first place. It is a simple, neat quadrangular edifice, but the roof is too steep, and carried up to too sharp a ridge; this was done to give height to the building, and render it more conspicuous. Within are two rows of benches and a simple pulpit; the utmost simplicity is, indeed, observable in every part of the building, but at the same time the due proportions are

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iii. p. 432, 488, 495, 507; vol. iv. p. 49.

exceedingly well observed, and the workmanship is extremely neat. The timbers are all of sumach wood, the yellow tint and polish of which give a sort of simple elegance to the appearance of the whole. The English government gave the Brethren permission to cut down as much timber as they wanted from the woods belonging to the company, free of expense.

"By the side of the church is the garden of the missionaries, in the midst of which stands the old pear tree planted by Schmidt himself, the original founder of the institution; benches are standing under its shade, and this is a favourite place of resort among the Brethren. The garden is two hundred paces long, and about a hundred and fifty broad; it is well stored with all kinds of kitchen vegetables and pulse, and intersected with numerous little channels, by which it is constantly well watered. Brother Schwinn, who is an excellent gardener, has the management of it. The church yard is directly behind it, and is laid out exactly in the manner of the Herrenhutters in Germany; a walk divides it in two, on the right hand of which lie the men, and on the left the women. The graves follow each other in regular rows, and the utmost care is taken of them; each has over it a little wooden cross, on which is inscribed the name of the deceased, his age, and the day of his death. The graves of two children of the Brethren have tomb-stones, and those of the Hottentots that had been baptized are distinguished from the rest.

"The house inhabited by the Brethren has, besides the hall in which they assemble, and where they take their meals two chambers for two of the married couples, and various household conveniences; the other three couple lodge in small houses close by. Another house is appropriated to the manufacture of knives, of which Kuehnel is the director, and which begins already to be very profitable. Four Hottentots were employed in it, who, when they first began learning, had no pay; they are now paid wages by the day,

and when they are perfect in their work, are to be paid by the piece. The knives are strong and well made, and are much sought after at Capetown, though they are dear; pocket knives sell from a dollar to a dollar and a half. Kuehnel complained much of the want of tools, and the difficulty of getting them from Europe, so that he is obliged to make them almost all himself. Marsveld is the miller, and has built a water-mill after the European manner, in which he grinds not only all the corn for the household and the Hottentots, but a great deal for the neighbouring colonies.

"But, in order to form a just estimate of these excellent men, their manner of conducting themselves towards the Hottentots must be seen; the mildness, yet dignity with which they instruct them; and the effect which has already been produced in improving the condition of their uncivilized brethren, is truly admirable. It is the more astonishing, since all has been accomplished by persuasion and exhortation; no violence, or even harshness, has been employed. The men are clothed like the peasants, in linen jackets, and leather small clothes, and wear hats; the women have woollen petticoats, cotton jackets, with long sleeves and caps. The lower class are still clothed in skins, but they are made to keep themselves and their clothing clean, and no nakedness is permitted."*

In January 1808, the earl of Caledon, the English governor of the Cape, which had been captured two years before by the British, made a proposal to the Brethren to begin a second settlement at a place called Gruenekloof, which his lorship offered to them for that purpose, promising, at the same time, to afford them every assistance in the formation of such an establishment. Having accepted of this offer, the Brethren, Kohrhammer and Schmitt, proceeded to that part of the country, and laid the foundation of a new settlement. To this place a number of the Hottentots collected

* Lichtenstein's Travels in Southern Africa, in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806, p. 156.

together for instruction; and soon after their arrival, the missionaries opened schools for the men, women, and children; but they quickly found that the people in this quarter were remarkable for the depravity of their manners, and that among their many vices, dissimulation was not the least.*

The Brethren had not been long in this part of the country, when a circumstance occurred which threw them into no small consternation and alarm. One afternoon, a man arrived at the settlement, pretending to be an English naval officer, and that he had narrowly escaped from a horde of runaway slaves, who were in open rebellion against the government. He shewed a certificate to that effect, containing a request to all pessons to furnish him with horses to prosecute his journey to Capetown. This, however, was a mere forgery; and it turned out that he was one of the chiefs of the rebels; but happily he was overtaken on the road to the Cape, and arrested as an impostor. Lord Caledon, on the discovery of the plot, sent dragoons through the country in every direction. Some of the colonists in the neighbourhood of Gruenekloof fled thither for safety; and the Brethren did every thing in their power to accommodate them and their slaves. They also distributed arms as directed by government, among their own Hottentots; and kept a strict watch during the night. Great mischief, indeed, had already been committed by the insurgents. Many places were attacked and plundered by them, and the inhahitants bound and carried away prisoners. Some hundreds of the rebels, however, were soon taken by the dragoons, and thus their evil designs were frustrated.†

In August 1811, the missionaries at this place were again involved in deep distress, by an accident which, though of a more private, was of a most affecting nature. As the neighbourhood had of late been much infested by wolves, which ventured into their yard, and committed terrible havock among their cattle, a day was appointed to hunt and

* Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 361, 389, 392, 396. † Ibid. vol. iv. p. 441.

destroy them, agreeably to the practice of the country. The Brethren Bonatz and Schmitt, with about thirty Hottentots, accordingly set out in the morning, armed with loaded guns. When about an hour's ride from the settlement, they discovered and wounded a wolf; but the animal made its escape among the bushes. They pursued it for some time, but not being able to detect its hiding place, the two missionaries resolved to return home. They had already left the Hottentots a short distance, when the latter cried, they had discovered the wolf in a thicket near at hand. Schmitt immediately rode back to their assistance, but Bonatz remained behind, as he had not his gun with him. When they were in the midst of the thicket, the dog started the animal. Those within did not see what it was; but those without cried it was a tyger, and ran off leaving the missionary and one of the Hottentots in the middle of the bushes, and perfectly at a loss by what side to escape, lest they should come directly upon it. They therefore proceeded slowly with their guns pointed, designing to shoot the animal the moment it made its appearance. But on a sudden the tyger sprung upon the Hottentot, pulled him down, and began to bite his face. Schmitt, who was close at hand, prepared his gun to shoot the creature; but as the Hottentot lay upon it, it was impossible for him to take aim so as effectually to disable or kill it. Immediately, however, the tyger, let go the Hottentot and made a spring at the missionary. His gun being of no use at such close quarters, he threw it down, and in order to defend his face, held up his arm, which the animal instantly seized, close to the elbow, with his jaws. Schmitt, however, was still able, with the same hand, to lay hold of the tyger's fore feet; and seizing him with the other by the throat, threw him down, and knelt upon his body, crying to the Hottentots to come and help him. No sooner did his companions hear his cries, than they all ran to his assistance; and one of them with his gun instantly shot the animal through the heart. About

three o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived at Gruenekloof with the missionary, who, though severely wounded, was still alive. As the case, however, was of an extraordinary nature, his friends were much at a loss how to treat him; and before it was possible to obtain medical advice from the Cape, the inflamation spread to an alarming extent. Every hour indeed he grew worse. He had eight wounds from the elbow to the wrist; in some places they penetrated to the bone; and as the teeth and claws of a tiger are shaped like those of a cat, they had of course lacerated the parts. His brethren, after several days, procured a medical man from the Cape, who bled him very freely, and kindly promised not to leave him until he was out of danger. By degrees, the inflammation abated; symptoms of a favourable nature began to appear; and to the astonishment of all his friends, Schmitt at length recovered, though he did not enjoy the same degree of health as before.*

The Hottentot, though severely wounded, did not suffer so much bodily pain as the missionary. It was the third instance in which he had encountered a tyger, and this time he would in all probability have lost his life, had not Schmitt risked his own to save him. After the tyger had got the Hottentot down, the missionary might easily have made his escape, as well as his companions, but he could not bear to see the poor man lose his life, without endeavouring at least to rescue him.†

To this account of the rise and progress of the Brethren's settlements at the Cape of Good Hope, we shall here add a short Table, containing the numbers of the baptized, &c. since the commencement of the mission.

* Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 118, 250. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 121.

Years.	Baptized, and Candidates for Baptisms.	Newly Baptized.			Communicants.	Inhabitants.				Children at School.	Houses.
		Adults.	Children.	Total.		Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.		
BAVIAN'S KLOOF, OR GRACE DALE. Begun 1792.											
1793	16										
1794	36				4						
1795	65	20	4	24							
1796	83									173	
1797	136										
1798	200	46	21	67	41				705		
1799	297	50	27	77		252	321	661	1234		228
1800	319	71	43	114					1300	230	
1801	352			36					1000	237	
1802	409								1014		
1803	430	24	14	38	87	212	268	580	1060		
1804	473	14	15	29	94				1095		217
1805	496					186	306	601	1093		
1806	523			50	104	166	194	440	800		172
1807	547			43	108	167	191	387	747		
1808	544	35	25	60	121				791		183
1809	635	61	41	102	151				867		190
1810	684			92	182	245	265	454	964		213
1811	769	82	59	141	223				993		208
1812	876			163	296				1073		224
GRUENEKLOOF. Begun 1808.											
1808	7				0	31	32	38	101		
1809	26			12	6	31	29	55	115		18
1810	54	16	5	21	12	49	47	62	158		36
1812	125	25	7	32	36				252		*

To this Table we shall only add, that, in July 1812, the whole number of Hottentots baptized by the Brethren at Bavian's Kloof, since the commencement of the mission, amounted to 1113 adults, besides a great many children.† In March 1813, the number of persons who had been baptized at Gruenekloof, during the last four years, amounted to 93.‡

* Period. Accounts, passim. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 343. ‡ Ibid. vol. v. p. 432.

SECTION XI.

General Observations.

WE have now taken a view of the principal missionary establishments of the United Brethren among the Heathen. Several of these, indeed, they have been obliged to relinquish, as well as some others which they undertook at different periods; but yet their missions are still numerous, and many of them are flourishing beyond their most sanguine expectations. In the year 1812, the United Brethren had no fewer than thirty-three settlements among the Heathen, in which were employed a hundred and fifty-seven missionaries, under whose care there were, according to an estimate of Mr. Latrobe's, about twenty-seven thousand four hundred converts;* besides whom, we suppose, there were some thousands of the Heathen who enjoyed the benefit of their instruction, though they were not as yet members of their congregations. To exhibit a general view of the Brethren's missions, we shall subjoin a Table, containing a list of their settlements, the number of missionaries, baptized, &c. at the latest period we have been able to ascertain them.†

In propagating the gospel among the Heathen, the Brethren endeavoured to imitate the example of the Apostle Paul, who "determined not to know any thing among them save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." Experience has taught them, that little is effected by beginning with the principles of natural religion, as the existence of God, the perfections of his nature, or the duties of morality, in order to prepare them for receiving the gospel. After many years trial, in

* Periodical Accounts vol. v. p. 323. MSS. Accounts.

† In this Table, the number of missionaries refers to the year 1812; the number of converts to the years mentioned in the last column. It is also proper to observe, that under the baptized are included, in most instances, the candidates for baptism.

Begun.	Countries.	Settlements.	Missionaries.	Baptized.	Communicants.	Years.
	WEST INDIES					
1732	ST. THOMAS	N. Herrnhuth		1009	430	1812
		Niesky		1276	758	
1733	ST. CROIX.	Friedensthal		5161	1711	1812
		Friedensberg	35	2982	897	
		Friedensfield		300	—	
1741	ST. JAN.	Emmaus		1006	476	1812
		Bethany		455	201	
1754	JAMAICA	Bogue	6	207	—	1812
		Mesopotamia		45	—	1800
		Carmel		—	—	
1756	ANTIGUA.	St. John's	14	5804	2578	1801
		Gracehill		2283	964	
		Gracebay		1359	643	
1765	BARBADOES.	Sharon	4	75	—	1794
1774	ST. KITTS.	Basseterre	6	1870	—	1797
1733	GREENLAND.		18			
		N. Herrnhuth		300	—	1810
		Lichtenfels		298	—	
		Lichtenau		400	—	
1735	N. AMERICA.		15			
		Fairfied		126	36	1812
		Goshen		50	—	1810
		Spring Place		—	—	
		Flint River		—	—	
		Sandusky		—	—	
1734	S. AMERICA.		17			
		Paramaribo		507	400	1812
		Sommelsdyk		66	—	1798
		Hope		169	84	1800
		Bambey		50	20	1804
1765	TARTARY.	Sarepta	—	4	—	1810
1771	LABRADOR.	Nain	26	97	24	1812
		Okkak		123	28	
		Hopedale		87	32	
1792	C. OF G. HOPE	Bavian's Kloof	16	876	296	1812
		Gruenekloof		125	3612	*

* Period. Accounts, passim.

different countries, and under every variety of circumstances, they found that the simple testimony of the sufferings and death of Christ, delivered by a missionary possessed of an experimental sense of his love, was the most certain and the most effectual method of converting the Heathen. It is now, therefore a rule with them, to enter into no discussions concerning the existence or attributes of God, the doctrine of the Trinity, and other similar truths, until the savages appear to believe in Christ, and to feel the transforming influence of the gospel on their hearts and lives.* It is proper, however, to remark, that though the Brethren make the death of Christ the grand subject of their preaching among the Heathen, they by no means confine their instructions to this particular point. There is no part of divine truth, whether of a doctrinal or practical nature, but what they endeavour, by degrees, to instil into the minds of the converts.†

The INTERNAL regulations of the Brethren's settlements among the Heathen, are the same in every country and in all situations. Besides preaching the gospel to them in public, the missionaries are diligent in visiting and conversing with them in private. When any are impressed with a sense of their sinful condition, and of their need of a Saviour, particular attention is paid to them, and on enrolling their names, they are called *New People*. If they persevere in their concern about their souls, and in their desire to be received into the church, they are then considered as *Candidates for baptism;* and after further instruction, and a convenient time of probation, they are *Baptized*: If they still maintain an exemplary walk and conversation, and desire to be admitted to the Lord's Supper, they are first permitted to be once present as spectators; and are then considered as *Candidates for the communion*, and after some time, they are admitted as *Communicants*. Each of these classes have separate meetings, in which they are instructed

* Periodical Accounts, vol. i. p. 8. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 27

in "all things pertaining to life and godliness." Separate meetings are also held with other divisions of the congregation, as the children, the single men, the single women, the married people, the widowers and widows, in which the admonitions and precepts given in the Holy Scriptures to each particular class are inculcated upon them. Besides, all the baptized and all the communicants come at stated seasons to converse privately with the missionaries; the men with one of the Brethren, the women with one of the Sisters. By this means the missionaries obtain a more perfect knowledge of the congregation, and have an opportunity of administering advice or reproof to each individual, suited to his particular circumstance.*

As the Brethren consider it of great importance to know the state of every individual belonging to their congregations, it would be impossible for the missionaries to perform their duty in a manner satisfactory to themselves, unless among the converts there were found some who were qualified to act as *Assistants*. These are chosen from among both sexes, and consist of persons whose good understanding, and whose exemplary behaviour, have rendered them respected by the other members of the congregation. They have each a particular district assigned them, in which they visit the people from house to house, attend the sick, the aged, the infirm, preserve order, endeavour to remove dissensions, and promote harmony among those under their care. The assistants meet the missionaries in conference, at stated periods, at least once a month, and make reports concerning the state of the congregation. By this means, the Brethren learn whether their people walk in conformity with the gospel, where their assistance is most needed, and how it may be most usefully applied. In some missions, the assistants are also occasionally employed to address the congregation at their meetings on a week day; and it is not unworthy of

* Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 19.

notice, that God has often blessed, in a remarkable manner, their simple yet affectionate testimony. Other persons, of exemplary behaviour, are employed as *Servants* in the chapel, and meet also in conference, to consult on subjects connected with the external order of the congregation. Besides, at stated times a *Council* is held, consisting of a number of the most respectable inhabitants of the place, chosen by the congregation, in which every thing that concerns the welfare of the settlement is taken into consideration. It is also proper to observe, that in each settlement one of the Brethren is appointed the *Superintendent* of the mission; but he never acts without consulting his fellow labourers, and for this purpose he holds a conference with them once or twice a week.*

With regard to the EXTERNAL regulations, it is impossible to make them precisely the same in all situations, owing to the very different circumstances in which the converts are placed. Among free Heathen, regulations similar to those of the Brethren's settlements in Europe are more easily introduced; among slaves, this, for obvious reasons, is impracticable. But yet, in every situation, whatever tends to promote Christian piety and good order, is carefully inculcated; and the discipline of the church is strictly administered. Any member, whether a free man or a slave, who acts contrary to the moral precepts of the Bible, is either excluded from the Lord's Supper, or from the meetings of the baptized, or even, in certain cases, from all fellowship with the congregation; nor is he re-admitted, until he gives satisfactory proofs of repentance. No situation, it is obvious can sanction or excuse disobedience to the laws of Christ.†

In all the Brethren's settlements among the Heathen, the congregations meet daily, either in the morning or evening, for social worship; and on the Sabbath, the missionaries are

* Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 17, 21. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 22.

employed from the morning dawn until the evening, in preaching, meeting the different divisions of their flocks, conversing with their own people, or with Heathen visitors, under concern for their souls. Even during the week, they are scarcely less employed in the duties of their office, as the daily meetings, visiting the sick, and such as cannot attend on the Lord's day, occupy a great portion of their time.*

In all the Brethren's settlements among the the free Heathen schools are established, as in Greenland, Labrador, North America, South America, and at the Cape of Good Hope. In the West Indies, this is not generally practicable, as the children are not under the immediate controul of their parents; but yet a Sabbath school, as we have already mentioned, has lately been established in Antigua, by permission of some of the planters.

With the view of improving the converts, the Brethren have introduced the use of letters among them, and have provided them with books in their own languages, though most of them were never written before. They have printed Spelling-books, and a Catechism, or Summary of Cristian Doctrine, in the Greenland, Esquimaux, Delaware, Arawack, and Creole languages; Hymn-books in the Greenland, Esquimaux, and Creole; a Harmony of the Four Gospels, in use in the Brethren's church, in the Greenland and Esquimaux; to which has been lately added, by the liberality of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Four Gospels in Esquimaux; and it is expected, that the whole of the New Testament will be printed by that institution as soon as it is ready for press. Besides these, various parts of the Holy Scriptures have been translated by the Brethren into different other Heathen languages, and are in constant use in their congregations, though as yet only in manuscript.†

The general synods of the Brethren's church, which con-

* Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 23. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 22.

sist of representatives from all the congregations, appoint a select number of bishops and elders to superintend the affairs of the whole church, till the next general synod, which in times of peace, usually meets every seven or eight years. The Elders' Conference of the Unity, as they are called, is divided into four departments, one of which has the special care of the missionary establishments among the Heathen. This committee, however, simply takes the affairs of the missions into consideration, and brings forward proposals concerning them: it neither forms resolutions, nor carries any measure into effect, until they are laid before the whole Elders' Conference of the Unity, and receive its concurrence. The missionaries in every quarter of the world keep up a regular correspondence with this department, and transmit to them their diaries or journals. Of these, a secretary is appointed to make extracts; a copy of which, in manuscript, is sent and read to all the congregations of the Brethren.* By this means, a missionary spirit is cultivated among the whole members of the church: the young and the old, men, women, and children, all feel a kind of passion for missions; and hence they are seldom at a loss for faithful labourers to go even to the most inhospitable countries, and among the most savage people.

Besides the Elders' Conference of the Unity, several institutions of a more private nature have been formed among the Brethren with the view of affording their assistance in carrying on their missions. In 1741, a society for the furtherance of the gospel among the Heathen, was instituted in London for the purpose of co-operating with the committee of the Elders' Conference in providing for such missionaries as might pass through England to the places of their destination. After some years, however, it was dissolved; but it was again renewed in 1766, and has taken upon it the whole expense of the mission to Labrador, besides assisting, as far as it was able, the missions in other quarters, particu-

* Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 16.

larly those in the British dominions. In 1746, a similar society was established by the Brethren in Amsterdam; but after some years it also was dissolved, in consequence of some misunderstanding among the members. It was again renewed, however, in 1793, at Zeist, near Utrecht. This society took particular charge of the mission at the Cape of Good Hope while the country was in the hands of the Dutch; but the state of Holland of late years has prevented it from being of much service. In 1787, the Brethren in North America established a society for propagating the gospel among the Heathen, which was incorporated by the state of Pennsylvania, and has since been useful in assisting the missions, among the Indian tribes. It is necessary, however, to remark, that these three societies have no power to begin new missions, or even to send out missionaries. This, by the synods of the Brethren's church, is vested solely in the Elder's Conference of the Unity.*

When any member of the Brethren's church feels himself disposed to go as a missionary among the Heathen, he communicates his desire to that department of the Elder's Conference which has the superintendance of the mission committed to their care. If, on inquiry into his situation and circumstances, there appears no particular objection to it, he is considered as a candidate for missionary service in general, unless he has mentioned a predilection for any particular place, and then special attention is paid to his wishes.†

As to the qualifications of their missionaries, much erudition is not required by the Brethren. They have learned by experience, that a good understanding, combined with a friendly disposition, and above all, a heart inflamed with the love of God, are the best and most essential qualifications of a missionary. In general, they think, the habits of a student are not so well calculated to form a person for the toils and hardships of a missionary life, as those of a mechanic. Yet

* Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 17. Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1813, Appendix, p. 32, 99.

† Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 6.

men of learning are by no means rejected by them, and in various instances, their superior literary attainments have not been without their use. When a new mission is to be begun, or a vacancy occurs in any of those already established, the list of candidates is examined, and such as are deemed most suitable are called upon, and accept or decline the invitation as they find themselves disposed.*

Both the Brethren at home who superintend the missions, and the missionaries abroad who conduct them, endeavour to establish them on such a footing as to render the expenses as small as possible. The missionaries receive no stated salary, but they annually send a list of necessaries from each place to the Brethren appointed to provide for the missions, and the articles wanted, after being approved of, are forwarded to them. The Brethren and Sisters belonging to one mission keep house in common, and wherever it is practicable, they endeavoured, as far as possible, to earn a livelihood by the labour of their own hands. This has in some instances succeeded, particularly in the Danish West India Islands, and in Surinam, through the diligence and zeal of some Brethren, who have not only laboured with success among the Heathen, but have earned so much at their occupations as to contribute considerably to the support of the missions. Circumstances, however, will not admit of this in every place.†

Till the year 1741, count Zinzendorf and his lady provided for all the expenses of the missions, and to their honour let it be recorded, they contributed to them in the most liberal manner. At present the Brethren's missions are supported entirely by voluntary contributions, particularly of members of their congregations in Europe and America, each of whom contributes, twice a year, whatever he thinks proper for their support. During the present war, the expense of them has increased from 3000*l.* to 8000*l.* a year, a small sum certainly, considering the extent and importance

* Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 6. † Ibid. vol v. p. 25.

of their establishments, though large when compared with the number and ability of the contributors. But the war has not only had a pernicious effect in increasing the ordinary expenses of the missions, it has also diminished the resources of many of the members, particularly in Holland and Germany, which have so often been the scene of hostilities. We are sorry to understand, that in the year 1861, the debts of the Brethren, on account of their missionary establishments among the Heathen, amounted to near two thousand pounds.* The modesty of the Brethren, indeed, is so extreme, and their faith in God is so strong, that they do not come forward and make their wants known: But shall these circumstances cause them to be overlooked by Christians of other denominations? Instead of this, they should rather raise them in our estimation, and give new energy to their claims on our benevolence. We trust these facts require only to be stated, to induce many to come forward with their contributions to assist these extraordinary men, in carrying on those noble and important undertakings, in which they have been so long, so honourably, and so successfully engaged.

* Spangenberg's Account of the manner in which the Brethren carry on their Missions among the Heathen. MSS. Accounts. Period. Accouuts, vol. v. p. 24, 324.

CHAPTER VII.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE METHODISTS.

West Indies.

In autumn, 1786, the Rev. Dr. Coke, accompanied by three other Methodist preachers, destined for Nova Scotia, sailed from England for that country, but after being ten weeks at sea, the violence of the gales, a leak in the ship, and apprehensions of the want of water, forced the captain to change his course, and bear off for the West Indies. Having landed on the island of Antigua, the doctor and his companions resolved, that, instead of proceeding to the original place of their destination, they would attempt to begin a mission on this and some of the neighbouring islands. Of these establishments we shall now give some short account, beginning with Antigua, where, however, it is necessary that we go a few years farther back.

SECTION I.

Antigua.*

In the year 1760, Nathaniel Gilbert, esq. speaker of the House of Assembly in Antigua, began to make some attempts to promote the interests of religion on that island. Having, in a late visit to England, been himself impressed by the gospel, he endeavoured, on his return to Antigua, to

* Is in latitude 17° 30′ N. and longitude 62° 5′ W. being about 20 miles square.

communicate to others the light of divine truth. His attempts were at first confined to a few persons, whom he collected together in his own house on the Lord's day; but afterwards he proceeded to preach in public, not only to the white people, but to the negro slaves. Conduct so singular and unexampled could not fail to excite general notice, and to draw upon him the insults and slanders of the enemies of religion, notwithstanding the high station which he occupied in the island. He persevered, however, in his labours, amidst the numerous indignities which were thrown upon him; and he had at length the pleasure of uniting about two hundred of his hearers into a Christian society, and continued to watch over them with all the affection and solicitude of a father. But how mysterious are the ways of Providence! In the midst of these useful and disinterested labours, he was called away from this terrestrial scene, to enter the eternal state, and his disconsolate flock were left as sheep without a shepherd, having no one to guide them in the paths of religion, to reprove their wanderings, to comfort them in their afflictions, or to cherish the infant work of grace in their hearts.

From the death of Mr. Gilbert, nearly twenty years elapsed before one was found to supply his place. At length, however, Mr. John Baxter, a member of the Methodist connection in this country, embarked from Chatham for Antigua, to work as a shipwright in the service of government; and, having on his arrival found religion at a very low ebb on the island, he embraced the opportunity of his leisure hours for preaching the gospel to such as would hear him. Such of Mr. Gilbert's hearers as had survived the ravages of death, and remained faithful amid abounding iniquity, soon flocked to him. In the space of five years, he collected together into a society about a thousand members; but unhappily, through a laxity of discipline, many were received into it, whose conduct but ill corresponded with their profession.

On Dr. Coke's arrival in December 1786, Mr. Baxter agreed to relinquish a lucrative situation which he held on the island, and to devote himself entirely to the work of the ministry, along with Mr. Warrener, one of the preachers, who was originally destined for Nova Scotia. It was now, however, found necessary to discard many of the members, as unworthy of the profession which they made, a circumstance which considerably reduced the number of the society. But the advantages which resulted from it, amply counterbalanced this inconvenience. It rescued the gospel from disgrace, induced those who remained to walk with greater circumspection, and ultimately proved beneficial to the interests of religion. Since that period, the Methodist society in Antigua has been subject to considerable variations. But amidst these changes, it has in general, been more or less on the increase; so that though the branches have occasionally been blasted, the tree itself has been taking deeper root. The following table exhibits the number of members in the Methodist societies in Antigua, for several years past:

Years.	*Whites.*	*Blacks and Coloured.*	*Total.*
1804	22	3516	3538
1807	—	——	2800
1808	20	2809	2829
1809	19	2479	2498
1810	—	——	2645
1811	20	2385	2407†

† An Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Methodist Missions, by Dr. Coke, 1804, p. 3. Annual Reports of the Methodist Missions from 1806 to 1811.

NOTE.—In the tables of this chapter, where there is an asterisk, (*), it indicates that it is only an approximation to the number.

SECTION II.

Dominica.*

AS soon as Dr. Coke had settled the mission in Antigua, he sailed for Dominica, with the view of promoting the interests of religion in that island. In 1788, a missionary was sent thither, and in a short time he collected about a hundred and fifty of the negroes into a society; a circumstance which so encouraged and animated him in his work, that he laboured beyond his strength, and soon fell a victim to his excessive exertions. After his death a considerable time elapsed before his place could be supplied, and in the meanwhile, most of those of whom he had conceived good hopes, relapsed into their former practices. Some, however, remained stedfast to their Christian profession, and on the arrival of a new missionary, a society consisting of several hundred members was in a short time raised at Prince Rupert's Bay. But the low marshy situation of this place has proved highly injurious to the health of the missionaries. Several of them have fallen sacrifices to the diseases which they caught in the prosecution of their labours; while others who came to settle on the island have been so debilitated through sickness, that they have been compelled to remove to some more salubrious climate for the recovery of their health. Dominica, indeed, has on the whole, been the most unhealthy island on which the Methodists have attempted to establish a mission. Hence it has often been left without a missionary, a circumstance which could not fail materially to retard their progress. The work, however, is at present rather in a prosperous state, especially considering that the

* Is about 28 miles in length, and 12 in breadth; in lat. 15° 15′ N. and long. 61° 28′ W.

greater part of the people were strongly attached to the church of Rome, and laboured under violent prejudices against the Protestant faith. Many of them, however, have now thrown off these shackles, and assumed fortitude enough to laugh at the fooleries, and to despise the anathemas of the Romish priests. Even their attachment to France is now a less formidable impediment than it was at first. In no island, however, has the number of the Methodist members varied so much as in Dominica, as appears from the following Table:

Years.	*Whites.*	*Blacks and Coloured.*	*Total.*
1802	—	——	50
1803	—	——	900*
1804	3	1000	1003
1807	—	——	800*
1808	2	801	803
1809	3	747	750*
1810	—	——	90
1811	—	——	609†

SECTION III.

St. Vincent's.‡

IN 1787, the Methodists visited the island of St. Vincent's, with the view of establishing a mission upon it; and on their

† Account of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Methodist Missions, p. 4. Annual Reports, from 1806 to 1811. Methodist Magazine, vol. xxvii. p. 189.

‡ St. Vincent's Island, in the West Indies, is to the south from the Island of St. Lucia. It is about twenty miles in length, and almost as much in breadth, and is in lat. 31° 10′ N. and in long. 61° 21. W. It is about twenty leagues to the west from Barbadoes Island.

arrival, they were treated with many flattering marks of respect by the inhabitants. They attempted soon after to begin a school among the native Caribs, and the legislature of the island gave an estate for the support of the institution; but the Catholic priests of Martinico infused suspicions into the minds of the poor people, that the missionaries were spies employed by the king of England, and by this means raised their jealousy to such a pitch, that it was found necessary to withdraw from among them. Among the negroes, however, the Methodists were more successful, and in a short time collected such numbers of them in their societies as amply recompensed them for the failure of their labours among the Caribs.

In 1793, the Legislative Assembly of St. Vincent's, which had at first patronized the Methodist missionaries, passed a very rigorous act against them, prohibiting them from preaching to the negroes under the severest penalties. For the first transgression, it was enacted that the offender should be punished by a fine of 18*l.*; for the second, by such corporeal punishment as the court should think proper to inflict, and likewise by banishment; and if the person should return from banishment, by DEATH! In consequence of this infamous act, Mr. Lumb, the missionary, was thrown into prison for preaching the gospel, and refusing to pay the fine. The magistrate, indeed, who committed him, offered to lay down the greater part of the fine, and one of the merchants wished to pay the whole, but he was determined to do nothing which might be construed as a voluntary submission to a law so execrable in itself, and so contrary to the spirit of the British constitution. Happily it was in force only for a short time, for as all the acts of the Colonial Assemblies must be transmitted to his majesty for his royal sanction, the king was graciously pleased to disallow it, as contrary to the principles of toleration, of which he has always professed himself the decided friend.

Since that period, no material impediment has been thrown

in the way of the Methodist missionaries in the island of St. Vincent's. Many of those who once were their persecutors, are now become their friends, and shew them a degree of kindness and hospitality scarcely equalled in any other island. The prejudices of others, however, are rather softened than subdued, and would probably burst forth with renewed violence, had they any prospect of being supported by the civil power.

The members of the Methodist Societies in St. Vincent's are pretty numerous; but as they are scattered over the various plantations on the island, they have no opportunity of attending divine worship except on the Lord's day, and even then many of them have it not in their power, in consequence of their great distance from town. The following Table will shew the state of their numbers for several years past:

Years.	*White.*	*Blacks and Coloured.*	*Total.*
1803	6	2350	2356
1804	9	2160	2169
1806	11	2270	2281
1807	—	——	2374
1808	—	——	2374
1809	13	2361	2374
1810	—	——	2861
1811	12	1121	1133†

† Account of the Rise, &c. of Methodist Missions. Annual Reports from 1806 to 1811.

SECTION IV.

St. Christopher's.*

IN 1787, Dr. Coke, accompanied by Mr. Hammel, one of the Methodist preachers, visited St. Christopher's with the view of establishing a mission upon the island; and on explaining their design, they were received by the inhabitants with the most flattering tokens of approbation. Mr. Hammel remained on the island; a small society was almost immediately formed; and since that period, multitudes who had lived without God, without Christ, and without hope in the world, have been impressd with concern for their souls, and received as members by the missionaries. Many allowances, however must be made for slaves, whose situation in life depresses the growth of their mental powers, debases their understanding, and corrupts their heart. The Negroes employed on the plantations have, in general, extremely scanty and confused ideas on almost every subject, and feel the utmost difficulty in expressing themselves with precision and perspicuity, concerning even the most ordinary circumstances. The testimony, therefore, whic h they bear for religion, must be sought for in the conduct of their life, rather than in the language of their lips. In the towns, however, particularly in Basseterre, the Negroes are more distinguished for the clearness of their ideas and the accuracy

* St. Christopher's, commonly called St. Kitt's Island, is of the number of those usually distinguished by the name of the Caribbees, of which it is deemed the principal, being in length about twenty miles and in breadth seven. It is separated from the small Island of Nevis by a narrow strait about three-fourths of a league broad. It lies west from the Island of Antigua about fifteen leagues. Bassaterre and Sandy Point are the principal towns of the island. The north point of the island is in lat. 17° 27′ N. and the south point in long. 62° 47′ W. The Island of St. Eustatia is only about three leagues west by north from the west point of this island.

of their language. Among them, indeed, there have been several, who, by leading classes, and exhorting their countrymen, have rendered the mission most essential service.

From the time when the Methodists first settled in this island, they have experienced almost an uninterrupted flow of external prosperity. Disturbances, indeed, from the lawless mob have occasionally occurred; but as they were never supported by the government of the island, they existed only for a moment, and then expired.

The following Table exhibits a view of the number of members in their societies for several years past:

Years.	*Whites.*	*Blacks and Coloured.*	*Total.*
1804	17	3000	3017
1806	34	2473	2507
1807	34	2325	2359
1808	28	2327	2355
1809	26	1925	1951
1810	—	——	2079
1811	31	2322	2353†

SECTION V.

St. Eustatia.‡

IN 1787, Dr. Coke visited St. Eustatia, which was then in the hands of the Dutch, in the course of his voyage through the West Indies. The government of the island, however,

† Account of the Rise, etc. of the Methodist Missions. Annual Reports from 1806 to 1811.

‡ St. Eustatia is about five leagues in circumference, and forms a steep mountain in the shape of a cone. It is in lat. 17° 29′ N. and long. 63° 10′ W.

would not suffer him to preach; but yet he employed his time from morning to night, for about eighteen days, in instructing small companies of the Negroes, from eight to twelve at a time, in the house of a free black with whom he lodged. Having returned again the following year, he would have been thrown into prison, had it not been for a letter which had been obtained from lord Dover to the government of Holland, intelligence of which had just reached the island.

Dr. Coke having afterwards visited Saba, the governor and council of that island requested him to settle a minister among them. In compliance with their request, he appointed Mr. Brazier to remain among them; but the governor of St. Eustatia, who possessed the supreme authority in all the Dutch possessions in that part of the West Indies, compelled the government of Saba, though with much reluctance, to part with their preacher.

In the island of St. Eustatia itself, the governor cruelly persecuted a certain slave who endeavoured to instruct his countrymen in the things which belonged to their everlasting peace; and at length the poor man was sold off the island to the captain of a Spanish ship. He likewise persecuted such as attended the meetings for divine worship. He pursued them by his black soldiers from corner to corner, to their own little huts, and even to the most secret recesses of the mountains, in order to put an end to their meetings for prayer; and at length, by torture, and every other method he could devise, he completely succeeded in suppressing them.

For about twenty years, the Methodists continued to make every effort in their power to establish a mission on this island, but, until of late, all their exertions were in vain. St. Eustatia having at length fallen into the hands of the British, two of the missionaries waited soon after on the English governor, and obtained liberty from him to attempt the establishment of a mission upon it. They now proceeded to preach the gospel, and to collect together the remains of their former little flock which had long been scattered.

They soon united a number of the Negroes into a society; and in the year 1811, their members amounted to two hundred and forty-six. Besides preaching to the adults, the missionary had upwards of a hundred children under his care, who made considerable progress in learning.*

SECTION VI.

Nevis.†

IN 1788, Dr. Coke visited the island of Nevis, with the view of introducing the gospel among the Negro slaves, and on his departure he left a missionary to labour among them. Many of the most opulent planters at first opposed the design, from an apprehension that it would introduce a spirit of insubordination among the Negroes. Hence, for a considerable time, they would not permit the Methodists to have access to the slaves on their estates; and when some, at length, ventured to invite them, they observed the utmost caution in their manner of proceeding: and in some instances, the missionaries, after they had preached a few times, were discarded, without being informed of any reason for such a singular mode of treatment. They were rarely, however, without employment: When dismissed from one plantation, they were solicited to visit others, and after a short season were treated in the same manner as they had been before.

But these clouds, which for a time darkened the horizon, began, at length, to dispel. By degrees the congregations became more numerous, more respectable, and more attentive. Many who hitherto had treated the gospel with con-

* Account of the Rise, &c. of the Methodist Missions. Annual Reports from 1806 to 1811.

† Nevis, is contiguous on the S. E. to the Island of St. Christopher's, being separated from it only by a narrow channel of about a league in breadth. Nevis is about two leagues in length and one in breadth, Charlestown is its Capital, and is in lat. 17° 15′ N. and long. 62° 35′ W.

tempt, began to view it with veneration, and several of them appeared to feel its influence on their heart and life. A respectable society was formed in Charlestown, the capital of the island; and the success which attended their labours in that town, induced many of the planters to admit the missionaries to their estates in the country.

Though Nevis is but a small island, being only about twenty-one miles in circumference, the Methodists have here two chapels, one in the town, the other in the country, both of which are attended by respectable and attentive congregations. Besides preaching in these places, the missionaries visit such of the plantations as they can conveniently attend; but the invitations which they have of this kind are more numerous than they are able to comply with. Throughout the West Indies in general, the Sabbath is the common market day; but in Nevis, many of the White people now shut up their stores and shops, and attend on divine worship; while the Negroes, who used to spend that sacred day in dancing, and drinking, and fighting, now come in crowds to the house of God, to hear his word, and sing his praise. The number of members in the Methodist societies on this island has varied considerably at different periods. The following Table will shew the amount of them for several years past:

Years.	*Whites.*	*Blacks and Coloured.*	*Total.*
1803	11	1200	1211
1804	14	1400	1414
1805	—	——	1350
1807	—	——	1450
1808	18	1358	1376
1809	13	1078	1091
1810	—	——	1021
1811	16	866	882†

* Account of the Rise, &c. of the Methodist Missions. Annual Reports from 1806 to 1811.

SECTION VII.

Tortola and the Virgin Islands.*

IN 1788, Dr. Coke, in his second voyage to the West Indies, visited Tortola, and was much delighted with the favourable disposition which the Negroes on this island manifested towards the gospel. This, however, was probably only one of those fallacious appearances, by which persons engaged in the propagation of religion, and the Methodists in particular, have often been deceived; for, at first, the progress of the mission was slow. A society, however, was at length formed on the island, a chapel erected, and the number of hearers augmented. Afterwards, indeed, the gospel spread among the inhabitants of several of the islets which are scattered up and down in its vicinity, and, like solitary rocks, lift their heads above the waves. To many of these the missionaries have paid frequent visits in open boats, to the prejudice of their health, and often at the risk of their life, in order to preach the glad tidings of salvation to the few forgotten families who inhabit them. In the Virgin Islands, persons of almost every description are friendly to the interests of religion; and even those solitary individuals who are secretly inimical to its progress, are ashamed to avow their hostility.

As a proof of the importance of Christianizing the Ne-

* Tortola is one of the Virgin Islands, near the Island of Porto Rico in the West Indies. It is six leagues long, and two Broad, and in lat. 18° 15′ N. and long. 64° 35′ W.

The Virgin islands are a cluster of small Islands in the West Indies, to the eastward of the Island of Port Rico, belonging to different European powers.

These Islands lie in about the lat. 18° 20′ N. and extend for the space of twenty-four leagues from E. to W. and about sixteen leagues from N. to S.

groes, even in a political point of view, it is not unworthy of notice, that soon after the commencement of the war with France, the governor of Tortola received information, that the French inhabitants of Guadaloupe meditated a descent on the island. He immediately sent for Mr. Turner, the superintendant of the missions in Tortola, and the other Virgin islands, and having informed him of this report, added, that there was no regular force in the colony to defend it against the enemy, and that they were afraid to arm the Negroes, unless he would put himself at the head of them. Mr. Turner was sensible, that such a step was not properly within the line of the ministerial office; but yet considering that the island was in iminent danger, that if it were conquered by the French, the religious privileges of the Negroes would probably be lost, and that the war on their part was entirely of a defensive nature, he consented to the governor's request, and was accordingly armed with the Negroes. About a fortnight after, a French squadron made its appearance in the bay; but being informed, it is supposed, by some emissaries, of the armed force on the island, they abandoned their design, and retired.*

In Tortola, religion is not only respected by all descriptions of people, but is puplicly countenanced by the principal inhabitants of the island. In 1809, it was stated, that even the chief magistrates had seats in the Methodist chapels, and regularly occupied them. One of the members of his majesty's council was a communicant; and in common with most of those who filled the more exalted stations in the Island, treated the missionaries with friendship and respect.

The following Table exhibits a view of the members of

* Soon after this event, the governor-general of the Leeward islands sent an order to the Methodist missionaries, to make a return of all the Negroes in their societies who were able to carry arms. The return was accordingly made; and a great part, if not the whole of them, were armed for the defence of the several islands. Such was the confidence which the governor-general had in the loyalty of the missionaries and of their flocks.

the Methodist societies in Tortola and the other Virgin islands for some years past:

Years.	*Whites.*	*Blacks and Coloured.*	*Total.*
1804	38	2070	2108
1806	38	2068	2106
1807	—	——	6800*
1808	39	2134	2173
1809	52	2285	2337
1810	—	——	2298
1811	56	2120	2176†

SECTION VIII.

Jamaica.

IN 1789, Dr. Coke visited this island with the view of establishing a mission upon it, and shortly after, a missionary arrived at Kingston and was received with much kindness by a number of the inhabitants. They held their meetings for some time in a private house, but as it was small, and situated near the extremity of the town, they purchased a large building in a more central situation, the upper part of which they converted into a chapel capable of containing about twelve hundred people, while the lower part was employed as a lodging for the missionaries. On the opening of the chapel, it was frequently by some of the Whites, as well as by the Negroes and people of colour, but most of the former soon ceased to attend; and, indeed, a number of the White people became at length so riotous, that it was

† Account of the Rise, etc. of the Methodist Missions. Annual Reports from 1806 to 1811.

impossible, in the evening, to meet for the worship of God in peace, both the preacher and the hearers being often in danger not only of mischief, but even of their life. It was in vain to apply to the magistrates for justice, or even for protection. One of the rioters, indeed, was prosecuted, and three respectable White people gave the clearest evidence against him, but the oaths of the Methodists were considered as of no weight, and a midshipman being procured to swear an *alibi*, the fellow was acquitted of the charge. Indeed, the grand jury presented the chapel as a nuisance, and it is not certain by what means this presentment fell to the ground, but it is supposed the honourable bench of judges rejected it.

Being thus protected, and even encouraged by their superiors, the mob did not fail to proceed in their system of opposing and molesting the poor Methodists. They not only created disturbances in the time of divine worship, but they frequently beset the chapel, attacked the people with the most abusive language, and repeatedly assailed them with large stones. They at last proceeded to break the front gates leading to the chapel, and would probably have committed still further outrages, had not the arrival of the town guard checked their proceedings. For several weeks, while these disturbances lasted, the members of the society were obliged to keep a strong guard in the chapel during the night. One morning, when there was no watch, some burnt coals were found on the floor; a circumstance which gave rise to a strong suspicion, that an attempt had been made by some incendiaries to set it on fire during the night.

In consequence of these circumstances, together with the ravages of sickness among the missionaries, and dissensions among the people, the society which had been formed was reduced to a very low ebb. New missionaries, indeed, arrived to supply the place of those who died, and made attempts to form societies not only in Kingston, but in various other parts of the island. These efforts, however, were at-

tended with little success. The White people in general, slighted the gospel, or were even inveterate against it; and as this was the case with them, the poor Negroes were debarred fr m hearing the word, most of the planters being averse to the religious instruction of their slaves. Such was the low state of the Methodist mission in Jamaica for a number of years. As et, however, the government of the island had taken no part against it; but at length the legislature interfered, and displayed a steadiness, an energy, and a zeal worthy of a better cause.

In April 1802, some of the preachers visited Morant Bay, a place about thirty miles from Kingston, and in the course of a few months they collected a society in that place of about ninety members. The enemies of religion, however, did not view their progress with indifference or unconcern. Having excited a violent persecution against them, they presented the places in which their meetings were held as nuisances to the quarter sessions of the parish; but being able to produce nothing against either the preachers or their hearers, contrary to the laws of God or man, they were compelled, though with reluctance, to drop the prosecution. The meetings, therefore, were continued, as no legal opposition could be made to them, and they met with no interruption for sometime, except from the lawless rabble, and a few disorderly people about the place. But here the matter did not long rest. In December following, the assembly of Jamaica passed an act by which it was decreed, that no person, unless he was qualified by the laws of that island and of Great Br tain, should preach or perform the services of religion, in meetings of Negroes or people of colour; that persons offending against this law should be deemed rogues and vagabonds, and as such be committed to the work-house, and kept to hard labour, one month for the first offence, and six months for every repetition of it; nay, should the case be extraordinary, that the assizes might inflict any punishment not extending to life; that if the criminal was a slave, he

should, for the first offence, be committed for hard labour to the nearest work-house for one month, and for every subsequent offence be subjected to a public flogging, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and it was added, that any person who should knowingly permit such a meeting to be held on his premises, should be liable to a fine not exceeding 100*l.* and be committed to the common gaol until he should pay it, and give security for his future good behaviour.*

As this act of the legislature of Jamaica professed to prohibit only qualified persons from preaching to the Negroes and people of colour, the Methodist missionaries did not apprehend that they came within the meaning of the law, as they were possessed of regular licenses, which they had obtained in England, and which would have been admitted as valid in any court of justice in Great Britain. Mr. Campbell therefore continued to preach as usual in Kingston, and met with no kind of interruption; but when he proceeded to preach at Morant Bay, he was apprehended and taken before the magistrates, who committed him to prison, notwithstanding he produced to them a certificate of his being duly qualified according to the laws of England. When the month of his imprisonment expired, he returned to Kingston, and having applied to the magistrates of that town to qualify him over again, his request was immediately granted. After preaching about two months in Kingston, he once more visited Morant Bay; but as this was a different parish, he did not venture to preach, though he had been qualified under the new law, without asking leave of the magistrates in that quarter. He, therefore, respectfully petitioned them for permission to qualify before them also, if they required it; but they returned for answer, that they would grant him no licence to preach, and as a punishment, it would seem, for even asking leave to qualify, they revived the old prosecution against him, though it had now been

* Methodist Magazine, vol. xxvi. Appendix, p. 9.

dropped for sometime. Not content with his former imprisonment, they endeavoured to apprehend him for the penalty of 100*l.* and to make him bring security that he would in effect never preach more; and unless he had found such security, he was informed, he might have been doomed to perpetual imprisonment. Mr. Campbell therefore; by the advice of his friends, made his escape from Jamaica and returned to England, leaving his fellow missionary Mr. Fish to take care of the flock at Kingston, where they still had the liberty of preaching. The serious people at Morant Bay, however, were now, in a great measure, left destitute of the means of grace. One of them, a very sensible and respectable man, was imprisoned for a month, simply for singing and praying with a few friends. All social worship was now at an end; nor was the mischief confined to this place, for the new law was employed as an engine for putting a stop to the preaching of the gospel in various other parts of the island.*

Happily however, when this iniquitous bill was laid before his majesty, for his royal sanction, it was disallowed by him; and information of this being communicated to the house of assembly in December 1804, the pious people of Jamaica, after a lapse of two years, were permitted to resume their social meetings for the public worship of God.†

But though the bill was disallowed by his majesty, the assembly of Jamaica endeavoured to elude, as far as possible, the effect of the royal negative, and to establish a system of persecution equally terrible, at least within the precincts of Kingston. An act of the legislature of the island having been procured for erecting a corporation in the capital, an opportunity was taken of introducing into it a clause, by which the corporation of that town were empowered, among a variety of other particulars, to impose on all who should

* Evangelical Magazine, vol. xii. p. 136. Methodist Magazine. vol. xxvii. p. 90.
† Missionary Magazine, vol. x. p. 181.

violate their regulations, fine and imprisonment to a large extent. The design of this clause was probably not perceived by the Board of trade, and accordingly the act obtained the sanction of his majesty. As the proceedings of the corporation of Kingston were not subjected to the revision of the King, this circumstance was soon improved as a mean of reviving the old system of persecution. In June 1807, the common council, under a pretence of zeal for the purity of religion, passed an act by which any person not duly authorized by the laws of the island and of Great Britain, who should presume to preach or teach, or offer up public prayers, or sing psalms in any meeting of Negroes or people of colour, within the city or parish, should, if a free person, suffer punishment by a fine not exceeding 100*l.* or by imprisonment in the common gaol or work-house, for any space not exceeding three months; and, if a slave, by imprisonment and hard labour for a period not exceeding six months, or by whipping not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, or both; that a similar punishment should be inflicted on every person who permitted such an illegal meeting in his house or premises; and that even in a licenced place of worship, there should be no public worship earlier than six in the morning, or later than sunset in the evening, under a like penalty.*

This cruel law was necessarily confined to the town and parish of Kingston; but in the month of November following, the assembly of the island, under the pretence of exciting the proprietors of Negroes to instruct them in the principles of religion, passed an act, ordaining that the instruction of slaves should be confined to the doctrines of the established church; that no missionaries should be allowed to teach them, or to receive them into their houses or assemblies, under the penalty of 20*l.* for every slave proved to have been present; and if the offender refused payment, he

* Christian Observer, vol. vi. p. 686. Evangelical Magazine, vol. xv. p. 471.

should be committed to the county gaol until the fine was discharged.*

The assembly knowing that such a measure would be disapproved of by his majesty, resorted to the trick of engrafting it upon an act to continue the general system of the slave laws, which had been consolidated into a temporary act that was then about to expire. Their agent was of course instructed to represent, that if the act of continuation was disallowed, Jamaica would be left destitute of slave laws, a circumstance which could not fail to endanger the peace and safety of the island: but the Board of trade found a way to frustrate this shameful artifice, by advising his majesty to disallow both the act in question, and the act of repeal, which had never expressly received the royal sanction, though it had been several years in force. The general slave laws, therefore, were by this means still established, and only the persecuting clauses of this new bill disannulled.

But as the legislature of Jamaica, by the stratagem of delaying to transmit the act for the royal sanction, while it had its operation in the island under that of the governor, had, for more than a year, suspended the meetings of the Negroes for public worship, his majesty, to prevent the repetition of such shameful proceedings in that or any of the other islands issued a general order in May 1809, to the governors in the West Indies, commanding them, that they should, on no pretence whatever, give their assent to any law relative to religion, until they had first transmitted a draught of the bill to England, and had received his majesty's approbation of it, unless in the body of the act there was a clause inserted, suspending its operation, until the pleasure of his majesty should be known respecting it.†

Enraged at this new disappointment, the assembly of Jamaica came to various resolutions on the state of the island, in which they declared, that the prohibition of passing laws on

* Evangelical Magazine, vol. xviii. p. 37. † Ibid. vol. xvii. p. 296. 342.

the subject of religion was a violent infringement of the constitution of the colony; that until it was withdrawn, it was the duty of the house to exercise their privilege of withholding supplies; and that after a certain period, until this grievance was redressed, no money should be granted or raised within the island for the support of the military establishment. In consequence of these violent proceedings, the duke of Manchester, the governor, immediately dissolved the assembly.*

Not discouraged by these strong measures, the assembly, in November 1810, passed a new act on the subject of religion, and introduced into it such regulations relative to the licensing of preachers and places of worship, as plainly shewed that it was their design to prevent the instruction of the Negroes by those who alone were willing to teach them. This law, indeed, was to continue in force only during the year 1811; but this very circumstance, which might seem trivial, displayed the artfulness of the assembly, being no doubt intended to elude his majesty's disallowance of the bill as by the time that could be notified, the law would have expired, and perhaps a new act be passed. How the governor, in direct contradiction to an express command from his majesty, should have given his assent to such a bill it is not easy to explain.†

The Methodists were the persons chiefly aimed at by the legislature of Jamaica in all the laws which they passed on the subject of religion; and it is obvious that their progress could scarcely fail to be impeded by such frequent acts of hostility. Many of their members, as might naturally be expected, drew back, while others were prevented by their masters from attending divine worship; but yet it appears, from the following Table, that the numbers, on the whole, have rather increased than diminished:

* Evangelical Magazine, vol. xviii. p. 128.

† Christian Observer, vol. ix. p. 601. Evangelical Magazine. vol. xix. p. 395, 439.

Years.	*Total.*	*Years.*	*Total.*
1792	170	1807	1000
1794	280	1809	814
1797	400	1810	866
1804	635	1811	865†
1806	832		

We are concerned to state, that the spirit of opposition to the instruction of the slaves in Jamaica still continues, notwithstanding the repeated interference of his majesty's government. In August 1812, Mr. Wiggins, one of the Methodist missionaries in Jamaica, was thrown into prison for a month, for preaching in their chapel on the Lord's day, and indeed the magistrates appeared to be determined that the missionaries should not be permitted to preach in any part of the island.‡

SECTION IX.

General Observations.

BESIDES these missionary establishments, the Methodists have sent preachers to Barbadoes, St. Bartholomew's, Grenada, Trinidad, St. Thomas's, New Providence, and the other Bahama Islands;* but as nothing interesting or important occurs in the history of these missions, we shall pass them without further notice, and shall only subjoin a general view of the state of the whole in the year 1811.

† Account of the Rise, &c. of the Methodist Missions. Annual Reports from 1806 to 1811.

‡ Buchanan on a Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment, p. 86.

* Account of the Rise, &c. of the Methodist Missions.

Islands.	Missionaries.	Whites.	Blacks and Coloured.	Total.
Antigua	3	22	2385	2407
St. Christopher's	4	31	2322	2353
Tortola, and the other Virgin Islands	4	56	2120	2176
St. Vincent's	3	12	1121	1133
Nevis	2	16	866	882
Jamaica	2	—	——	865
Dominica	2	—	——	609
New Providence and the other Bahama Islands	3	254	251	505
St. Eustatia	—	3	243	246
St. Bartholomew's	—	—	200	200
Trinidad	1	2	186	188
Bermuda	1	29	106	135
Grenada	1	—	——	93
St. Thomas's	—	—	——	69
Barbadoes	1	—	——	40
Total	27	—	——	11,901* †

Besides the missions on the West India islands connected with the Conference in England, the Methodists in America have laboured with considerable success among the negroes and people of colour in that quarter of the globe, as appears from the following statement of the numbers of them who were members of the Societies in the year 1804:

* Minutes of the Methodist Conference, 1811, p. 31, 40.

† Since that time, their numbers have considerably increased. At the Conference held in July 1813, the members of the Methodist Societies in the West Indies were stated at 15,220.—Evangelical Magazine, vol. xxi. p. 302.

Western Conference	518
Southern do.	3,446
Virginia do.	3,757
Baltimore do.	6,877
Philadelphia do.	8,442
New-York do.	432
New-England do.	59
Total	23,531*

Besides the negroes and people of colour, who are members of the Methodist societies in the West Indies and America, it is necessary to remark, that there are still greater numbers who, though not in connection with them, attend upon their worship, and enjoy the benefit of their instructions. In 1793, their regular congregations in the West India islands alone comprehended at least thirty thousand persons; and in 1809, it was estimated that they consisted of not less than a hundred and twenty thousand, most of whom would otherwise have been left totally destitute of the means of religious instruction.

In comparing the numbers in the Methodist societies in successive years, nothing is more striking than the frequent and even sudden variations which have taken place in the amount of their numbers. It must, however, be remarked, that the negroes in the Methodist societies are not like the members of other churches: few of them comparatively have been baptized or admitted to the Lord's Supper; they have simply agreed to submit to the discipline of the Methodists, and professed a desire to flee from the wrath to come; so that, as these are the only qualifications which are necessary to constitute a member, it is no wonder that their number is liable to great variations. Besides, the missionaries are, in general, not fixed, but ambulatory, in the same manner as

* Methodist Magazine, vol. xxviii. p. 47.

their preachers are in this country. After remaining two or three years in one island, they remove to another, and are succeeded by a new brother; a circumstance which must have no small influence in producing this irregularity in the number of their members.

The Methodist missions in the West Indies are subject to the general direction of the Conference, or annual meeting of their preachers; by whom they have hitherto been committed to the particular superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Coke, whose zealous and indefatigable exertions have been the principal mean of their original establishment and their subsequent support. To assist him in the management of so arduous and important a charge, the Conference have also appointed a committee of finance and advice, consisting of all the ministers of the connection resident in London.*

It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to remark, that few of the missionaries are men of what is usually termed liberal education. "Though we judge," say the committee, "that human learning, if accompanied with piety and humility, is not only a desirable embellishment, but a very important advantage to Christian missionaries, yet we by no means deem it indispensably necessary. We have found by experience, that men of sound judgment, of ready utterance, and burning zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of men, well acquainted with experimental religion, with the Holy Scriptures, and the great doctrines of Christianity, though destitute of classical learning, have been the instruments of converting thousands from the error of their ways, and of building up believers in their most holy faith. The aid of men thus qualified and thus honoured we dare not refuse, when immortal creatures are perishing 'for lack of knowledge.' But we endeavour to be very careful that all our missionaries, if not men of general science, should at least understand that particular science which they are employed to teach, the gospel of Christ Jesus."

* Methodist Magazine, vol. xxviii. p. 234;

"The leading doctrines taught by all our missionaries are the following: The eternal existence of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; the total ignorance, sinfulness, misery, and helplessness of man; the necessity of remission of sins, and of a complete renewal of the heart in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness, after the image of him that created us; the infinite mercy and grace of God, as the only source of man's redemption; and the atonement made by Jesus Christ for the sins of the whole world. They constantly affirm, that the mediatorial work of Christ is the sole meritorious cause of salvation; that whatever subordinate means may be employed, the Holy Spirit is the grand and proper agent of the work of grace in the heart; that repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are necessary to the sinner's actual participation of pardon and eternal life; and that believers must persevere in holiness to the end of their days, in order that their labour may not be in vain in the Lord."*

Among the members of the Methodist societies in the West Indies, there are not a few, we hope, who are sincere converts to the Christian faith, though we fear there is a considerable tincture of enthusiasm among them. All of them so far as is known, fulfil with propriety the relative duties of life, even their own masters being judges; or if any occasionally transgress the rules of morality, they are excluded from the connection, at least after neglecting due reproof. They have all abandoned the practice of polygamy, the besetting sin of the negroes; and the fatal influence of Obeah, or witchcraft, which is often productive of most terrible mischief, among the slaves, is effectually destroyed wherever Christianity prevails. As a proof of the general good conduct of the converts, it is not unworthy of notice, that when an office which requires trust and confidence becomes vacant, such as that of a watchman, it is a usual practice with the planters and managers to enquire for a religious negro

* Methodist Magazine, vol. xxviii. p. 235.

to fill it. Indeed, in Antigua, Nevis, Tortola, and St. Vincent's, the proprietors of estates, and the other inhabitants, are so fully satisfied with the conduct of the missionaries, and so sensible of the political as well as moral and religious advantages resulting from their labours, that they entirely support the missions in these islands by their voluntary contributions.*

* Methodist Magazine, vol. xxvii. p. 377.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

East Indies.*

IN October 1792, a few Baptist ministers assembled at Kettering in Northamptonshire, and united in instituting a society for propagating the gospel among the Heathen. They, at the same time, opened a subscription for this important

* It may be proper here to give the reader a brief account of the difficulties that lie in the way of the free circulation of the gospel in India, by Protestant missionaries. Those difficulties which arise from the ignorance and superstition of Paganism were principally detailed in a note subjoined to chap. 5. of vol. 1. Those which are the most formidable, arise out of the despotic establishment of Roman Catholic institutions, and are now to be noticed.

Doctor Buchanan, in speaking of the gross darkness that covers Pagan countries, says, "There is a moral darkness in the East, of a different character from that of Paganism, I mean the darkness of the Roman superstition in Pagan lands. Upwards of two centuries ago, Papal Rome established her inquisition in India, and it is still in operation. By this tribunal, the power of the Romish church was consolidated in that hemisphere. From Goa, as a centre, issues the orders of the Santa Casa, or Holy Office, to almost every nation of the East; to the Western coast of Africa, where there are many Roman churches; and thence to their settlements along the shores of the continent of Asia, as far as China and the Philippine Isles. Ships of war, and ships of commerce have ever been under its command; for the vice-roy of Goa himself is subject to its jurisdiction; and these ships afford the means of transmitting orders to all countries, of sending forth priests, and sometimes of bringing back victims.

Besides the spiritual tyranny of the Inquisition, there exists, in certain provinces, a corruption of Christian doctrine more heinous than can easily be credited. In some places, the ceremonies and rites of Moloch are blended with the worship of Christ! This spectacle I myself

purpose; but the whole sum contributed on that occasion amounted only to thirteen pounds two shillings and sixpence. As soon, however, as the object of the society was known, they met with further encouragement and support, not only

have witnessed at Aughoor, near Madura, in the south of India. The chief source of the enormity is this: the Inquisition would not give the Bible to the people. In some provinces I found that the Scriptures were not known to the common people, even by *name;* and some of the priests themselves assured me that they had never *seen* them."

The Pagans of the highest cast, in many parts of India, have more knowledge of the Scriptures than the Roman Catholics. The most discerning of the Hindoos themselves who have read the Bible, say, that the Romish religion is an abuse of the Christian name, and the offspring of despotism and hypocrisy. Indeed, so well convinced are the natives of India, of the Scriptures containing the best standard of moral rectitude, that, on a certain occasion, when they doubted the purpose and good faith of the English they applied to Mr. Swartz, the missionary, to send them, to transact some particular business, a person who had learned the Ten Commandments.*

The reader will consider the following account of the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion in India, taken from Dr. Buchanan's Researches, as given to shew that secular glory, sacred titles, combined with great swelling words of vanity, will never allure men from dumb idols to serve the living and true God, nor the terror of Inquisitions transfuse light into their understanding, and compel them to repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; but that it is evident, that the word of life must have free course, in order that God may be glorified in its dispensation, and the understandings of men enlightened, and they renewed in the spirit of their minds, by the energetic influence accompanying the principles of the gospel. Except these things concur and unite in the propagation of "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," instead of ameliorating, men will deteriorate the moral condition of the Heathen, and make them two-fold more the children of wrath than they were before.

"THE ROMISH CHRISTIANS IN INDIA.

"In every age of the Church of Rome there have been individuals, of an enlightened piety who derived their religion not from the commandments of men, but from the doctrines of the Bible. There are at this day, in India and in England, members of that communion, who deserve the affection and respect of all good men; and whose cultivated minds will arraign the corruptions of their own religion, which I am about to describe. I am indeed prepared to speak of Roman Catholics with as much liberality as perhaps any Protestant has ever attempted on Christian principles: for I am acquainted with individuals whose unaffected piety I consider a reproach to a great body of Protestants, even the strictest sort.

* Buchanan's Researches.

from the members of their own communion, but from Christians of other denominations.*

About the same time, Mr. John Thomas, who of late years, had made some attempts for the propagation of Chris-

* Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, vol. i. p. 3, 48.

It is indeed painful to say any thing which may seem to feeling and noble minds ungenerous; but those enlightened persons, whose good opinion it is desirable to preserve, will themselves be pleased to see that truth is not sacrificed to personal respect, or to a spurious candour. Their own church sets an example of "plainness of speech" in the assertion of those tenets which it professes, some of which must be extremely painful to the feeling of Protestants in their social intercourse with Catholics; such as, "that there is no salvation out of the pale of the Romish Church."

"This exclusive character prevents concord and intimacy between Protestant and Catholic families. On the principles of infidelity they can associate very easily; but on the principles of religion, the Protestant must ever be on the defensive; for the Romish Church excommunicates him: and although he must hope that some individuals do not maintain the tenet, yet his uncertainty as to the facts prevents that cordiality which he desires. Many excellent Catholics suffer unjustly in their intercourse with Protestants, from the ancient and exclusive articles of their own Church, which they themselves neither profess nor believe. If they will only intimate to their Protestant friends, that they renounce the exclusive principle, and that they profess the religion of the Bible, no more seems requisite to form with such persons the sincerest friendship on Christian principles.

"At the present time we see the Romish religion in Europe without dominion; and hence it is viewed by the mere philosopher with indifference or contempt. He is pleased to see, that "the seven heads and the ten horns" are taken away; and thinks nothing of the "names of blasphemy." But in the following pages, I will have occasion to shew what Rome is, as having dominion; and possessing it too within the boundaries of the British empire.

"In passing through the Romish provinces in the East, though I had before heard much of the Papal corruptions, I certainly did not expect to see Christianity in the degraded state in which I found it. Of the priests it may truly be said, that they are, in general, better acquainted with the Veda or Brama than with the Gospel of Christ. In some places the doctrines of both are blended. At Aughoor, situated between Tritchinoply and Madura, I witnessed (in October 1806) the Tower of Juggernaut employed to solemnize a Christian festival. The old priest Josephus accompanied me, when I surveyed the idolatrous car and its painted figures, and gave me a particular account of the various ceremonies which are performed, seemingly unconscious himself of any impropriety in them. I went with him afterwards into the church, and seeing a book lying on the altar, opened it; but the reader may

tianity in Bengal, was in London, endeavouring to establish a fund for sending missionaries to that country, and was himself anxious to obtain a suitable companion to return with him. He had first sailed to Bengal in 1783, as surgeon of

judge of my surprise when I found it was a Syriac volume, and was informed that the priest himself was a descendant of the Syrian Christians, and belonged to what is now called the Syro-Roman Church, the whole service of which is in Syriac. Thus, by the intervention of the Papal power, are the ceremonies of Moloch consecrated in a manner by the sacred Syriac language. What a heavy responsibility lies on Rome, for having thus corrupted and degraded that pure and ancient church!

"While I viewed these Christian corruptions in different places, and in different forms, I was always referred to the Inquisition at Goa, as the fonntain-head. I had long cherished the hope, that I should be able to visit Goa before I left India. My chief objects were the following:

"1. To ascertain whether the Inquisition actually refused to recognize the Bible, among the Romish Churches in British India.

"2. To inquire into the state and jurisdiction of the Inquisition, particularly as it affected British subjects.

"3. To learn what was the system of education for the priesthood; and,

"4. To examine the ancient Church libraries in Goa, which were said to contain all the books of the first printing.

"I will select from my journal, in this place chiefly what relates to the Inquisition. I had learnt from every quarter that this tribunal, formerly so well known for its frequent burnings, was still in operation, though under some restrictions as to the publicity of its proceedings; and that its power extended to the extreme boundary in Hindostan. That. in the present civilized state of Christian nations in Europe, an Inquisition should exist at all under their authority, appeared strange; but that a Papal tribunal of this character should exist under the implied toleration and countenance of the British government; that Christians, being subjects to the British empire, and inhabiting the British territories. should be amenable to its power and jurisdiction, was a statement which seemed scarcely credible; but, if true, a fact which demanded the most public and solemn representation."

"Goa; Convent of the Augustinians, January 23, 1808.

"On my arrival at Goa, I was received into the house of captain Schuyler, the British Resident. The British force here is commanded by colonel Adams, of his majesty's 78th Regiment, with whom I was formerly well acquainted in Bengal.* Next day I was introduced by these gentlemen to the vice-roy of Goa, the count de Cabral. I intima-

* The forts in the harbour of Goa were then occupied by British troops, two King's regiments and two regiments of native infantry, to prevent its falling into the hands of the French.

the Oxford East Indiaman, and immediately on his arrival, he tried to set on foot some plan for the spread of the gospel in that benighted region. He failed, however, in the attempt at that time; and having returned with the ship to

ted to his excellency my wish to sail up the river to Old Goa,* (where the Inquisition is,) to which he politely acceded. Major Pareira, of the Portuguese establishment, who was present, and to whom I had letters of introduction from Bengal, offered to accompany me to the city, and introduce me to the archbishop of Goa, the primate of the Orient.

"I had communicated to colonel Adams, and to the British Resident, my purpose of inquiring into the state of the Inquisition. These gentlemen informed me, that I should not be able to accomplish my design without difficulty, since every thing relating to the Inquisition was conducted in a very secret manner, the most respectable of the Lay Portuguese themselves being ignorant of its proceedings; and that, if the priests were to discover my object, their excessive jealousy and alarm would prevent their communicating with me, or satisfying my enquiries on any subject.

"On receiving this intelligence, I perceived that it would be necessary to proceed with caution. I was, in fact, about to visit a republic of priests, whose dominion had existed for nearly three centuries; whose province it was to prosecute heretics, and particularly the teachers of heresy; and from whose authority and sentence there was no appeal in India; for I was informed that the vice-roy of Goa has no authority over the Inquisition, and that he himself is liable to its censure. Were the British government, for instance, to prefer a complaint against the Inquisition to the Portuguese government at Goa. it could obtain no redress. By the very constitution of the Inquisition, there is no power in India which can invade its jurisdiction, or even put a question to it on any subject.

"It happened that lieutenant Kempthorne, commander of his majesty's brig Diana, a distant connexion of my own, was at this time in the harbour. On his learning that I meant to visit Old Goa, he offered to accompany me; as did also captain Sterling, of his majesty's 84th Regiment, which is now stationed at the forts.

"We proceeded up the river in the British Resident's barge, accompanied by major Pareira, who was well qualified by a thirty years' residence, to give information concerning local circumstances. From him I learned that there were upwards of two hundred churches and chapels in the province of Goa, and upwards of two thousand priests.

"It was past twelve o'clock when we arrived at the city: all the

* There is Old and New Goa. The old city is about eight miles up the river. The vice-roy and chief Portuguese inhabitants reside at New Goa, which is at the mouth of the river, within the forts of the harbour. The old city, where the Inquisition and the churches are, is now almost entirely deserted by the secular Portuguese, and is inhabited by the priests alone. The unhealthiness of the place, and the ascendancy of the priests, are the causes assigned for abandoning the ancient city.

England, he was baptized in London, and began to exhort in private societies, and to preach in different places, both in town and country. In 1786, he made a second voyage to Bengal, as surgeon of the same ship, and on his arrival, he

churches were shut, and we were told they would not be opened again till two o'clock.

" In entering the city we passed through the palace gate, over which is the statue of Vasco de Gama, who first opened India to the view of Europe. I had seen at Calicut, a few weeks before, the ruins of the Samorin's palace, in which Vasco de Gama was first received. The Samorin was the native prince against whom the Europeans made war. The empire of the Samorin has passed away; and the empire of his conquerors has passed away; and now imperial Britain exercises dominion. May imperial Britain be prepared to give a good account of her stewardship, when it shall be said unto her, " thou mayest be no longer steward."

" I mentioned to major Pareira, that I intended to stay at Old Goa some days; and that I should be obliged to him to find me a place to sleep in. He seemed surprised at this intimation, and observed that it would be difficult for me to obtain a reception in any of the churches or convents, and that there were no private houses into which I could be admitted. I said I could sleep any where; I had two servants with me, and a travelling bed. When he perceived that I was serious in my purpose, he gave directions to a civil officer, in that place, to clear out a room in a building which had been long uninhabited, and which was then used as a warehouse for goods. Matters at this time presented a very gloomy appearance; and I had thoughts of returning with my companions from this inhospitable place. In the mean time we sat down in the room I have just mentioned, to take some refreshment, while major Pareira went to call on some of his friends. During this interval, I communicated to lieutenant Kempthorne the object of my visit. I had in my pocket " An Account of the Inquisition at Goa," by Monsieur Dellon, a physician who had been imprisoned in the dungeon thereof for two years, and witnessed an Auto da Fe, when some heretics were burned; at which time he walked barefoot. After his release he wrote the history of his confinement. His descriptions are in general very accurate, of which I mentioned some particulars. While we were conversing on the subject, the great bell of the Cathedral began to toll; the same which Dellon observes always tolls before day-light on the morning of the Auto da Fe. I did not myself ask any questions of the people concerning the Inquisition; but Mr. Kempthorne made enquires for me: and he soon found out that the Santa Casa, or Holy Office, was close to the house where we were then sitting. The gentlemen went to the window to view the horrid mansion; and I could see the indignation of free and enlightened men arise in the countenances of the two British officers, while they contemplated a place where formerly their own countrymen were condemned to the flames, and into which they themselves might now suddenly be thrown, without the possibility of rescue.

met with a few pious people, with whom he agreed to have a meeting for prayer, and afterwards he preached to them every Sabbath evening. Among the number of these Christian friends, was Mr. G————, a gentleman who since

"At two o'clock we went out to view the churches, which were now open for the afternoon service; for there are regular daily masses; and the bells began to assail the ear in every quarter.

"The magnificence of the churches of Goa far exceeded any idea I had formed from the previous description. Goa is properly a city of churches; and the wealth of provinces seems to have been expended in their erection. The ancient specimens of architecture at this place far excel any thing that has been attempted in modern times in any other part of the East, both in grandeur and taste. The chapel of the palace is built after the plan of St. Peter's at Rome, and is said to be an accurate model of that paragon of architecture. The church of St. Dominic, the founder of the Inquisition, is decorated with paintings of Italian masters. St. Francis Xavier lies enshrined in a monument of exquisite art, and his coffin is enchased with silver and precious stones. The Cathedral of Goa is worthy of one of the principal cities of Europe; and the church and convent of the Augustinians (in which I now reside) is a noble pile of building, situated on an eminence, and has a magnificent appearance from afar.

"But what a contrast to all this grandeur of the churches is the worship offered in them! I have been present at the service in one or other of the chapels every day since I arrived; and I seldom see a single worshipper but the ecclesiastics. Two rows of native priests, kneeling in order before the altar, clothed in coarse black garments, of sickly appearance and vacant countenance, perform here, from day to day, their laborious masses, seemingly unconscious of any other duty or obligation of life.

"The day was now far spent, and my companions were about to leave me. While I was considering whether I should return with them, Major Pareira said he would first introduce me to a Priest, high in office, and one of the most learned men in the place. We accordingly walked to the Convent of the Augustinians, where I was presented to Josephus a Doloribus, a man well advanced in life, of pale visage and penetrating eye, rather of a reverend appearance and possessing great fluency of speech and urbanity of manners. At first sight he presented the aspect of one of those acute and prudent men of the world, the learned and respectable Italian Jesuits, some of whom are yet found, since the demolition of their order, reposing in tranquil obscurity in different parts of the East. After half an hour's conversation in the Latin language, during which he averted rapidly to a variety of subjects, and inquired concerning some learned men of his own Church whom I had visited in my tour, he politely invited me to take up my residence with him during my stay at Old Goa. I was highly gratified by this unexpected invitation; but Lieutenant Kempthorne did not approve of leaving me in the hands of the *Inquisitor*. For judge of our surprise when we discovered that my learned host was one of the Inquisitors of the

that period, has risen to some of the most important and honourable offices in the service of the East India Company, both at home and abroad. Pleased with the labours of Mr. Thomas in their private meetings, this excellent man expressed

holy office, the second member of that august tribunal in rank but the first and the most active agent in the business of the department. Apartments were assigned to me in the College adjoining the Convent, next to the rooms of the Inquisitor himself; and here I have been now four days at the very fountain-head of information, in regard to those subjects which I wished to investigate. I breakfast and dine with the Inquisitor almost every day, and he generally passes his evenings in my apartment. As he considers my enquiries to be chiefly of a literary nature, he is perfectly candid and communicative on all subjects.

"Next day after my arrival, I was introduced by my learned conductor to the Archbishop of Goa. We found him reading the Latin Letters of St. Francis Xavier. On my adverting to the long duration of the city of Goa, while other cities of Europeans in India had suffered from war or revolution, the Archbishop observed that the preservation of Goa was "owing to the prayers of St. Francis Xavier." The Inquisitor looked at me to see what I thought of the sentiment. I acknowledged that Xavier was considered by the learned among the English to have been a great man. What he wrote himself bespeaks him a man of learning, of original genius, and great fortitude of mind; but what others have written for him and of him has tarnished his fame, by making him the inventor of fables. The Archbishop signified his assent! He afterwards conducted me into his private Chapel, which is decorated with images of silver, and then into the Archiepiscopal Library, which possesses a valuable collection of books. As I passed through our convent, in returning from the Archbishop's, I observed among the paintings in the cloisters a portrait of the famous Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, who held the Synod of Diamper near Cochin in 1599, and burned the books of the Syrian Christians. From the inscription underneath I learned that he was the founder of the magnificent Church and Convent in which I am now residing."

"On the same day I received an invitation to dine with the chief Inquisitor, at his house in the country. The second inquisitor accompanied me, and we found a respectable number of Priests, and a sumptuous entertainment. In the library of the chief Inquisitor I saw a register containing the present establishment of the Inquisition at Goa, and the names of all the officers. On my asking the chief Inquisitor whether the establishment was as extensive as formerly, he said it was nearly the same. I had hitherto said little to any person concerning the Inquisition, but I had indirectly gleaned much information concerning it, not only from the inquisitors themselves, but from certain Priests, whom I visited at their respective convents; particularly from a Father in the Franciscan Convent, who had himself repeatedly witnessed an Auto da Fe."

a wish that he should remain in the country, learn the language, and preach the gospel to the natives. Nothing, however, could be more foreign from Mr. Thomas's own views. Anxious as he was for the evangelizing of the Hin-

" Goa, Augustinian Convent, 26th Jan. 1808.

" On Saturday, after Divine Service, which I attended, we looked over together the prayers and portions of Scripture for the day, which led to a discussion concerning some of the doctrines of Christianity. We then read the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, in the Latin Vulgate. I asked the Inquisitor whether he believed in the influence of the Spirit there spoken of. He distinctly admitted it; conjointly however, he thought, in some obscure sense, with *water*. I observed that water was merely an emblem of the purifying effects of the Spirit, and could be *but* an emblem. We next adverted to the expression of St. John in his first Epistle; " This is he that came by *water* and *blood:* even Jesus Christ; *not* by water only, but by water and blood:"—blood to atone for sin, and water to purify the heart; justification and sanctification: both of which were expressed at the same moment on the Cross. The Inquisitor was pleased with the subject, I referred to the evangelical doctrines of Augustin (we were now in the Augustinian Convent) plainly asserted by that Father in a thousand places, and he acknowledged their truth. I then asked him in what important doctrine he differed from the Protestant Church? He confessed that he never had a theological discussion with a Protestant before. By an easy transition we passed to the importance of the Bible itself, to illuminate the priests and people. I noticed to him that after looking through the colleges and schools, there appeared to me to be a *total eclipse* of Scriptural light. He acknowledged that religion and learning were truly in a degraded state. I had visited the theological schools, and at every place I expressed my surprise to the tutors in presence of the pupils, at the absence of the Bible, and almost total want of reference to it. They pleaded the custom of the place, and the scarcity of copies of the book itself. Some of the younger Priests came to me afterwards, desiring to know by what means they might procure copies. This inquiry for Bibles was like a ray of hope beaming on the walls of the Inquisition.

" I pass an hour sometimes in the spacious library of the Augustinian Convent. There are many rare volumes, but they are chiefly theological, and almost all of the sixteenth century. There are few classics; and I have not yet seen one copy of the original Scriptures in Hebrew or Greek."

" Goa, Augustinian Convent, 27th Jan. 1818.

" On the second morning after my arrival, I was surprised by my host, the Inquisitor, coming into my apartment clothed in *black* robes from head to foot; for the usual dress of his order is white. He said he was going to sit on the Tribunal of the Holy office. " I presume, Father, your august office does not occupy much of your time?" " Yes."

doos, he had himself no particular inclination to the work; he disliked the climate, and dreaded a longer separation from his family, and thought there was no probability of the captain's giving him leave to stay in the country, or of another

answered he, "much. I sit on the Tribunal three or four days every week."

"I had thought, for some days, of putting Dellon's book into the Inquisitor's hands; for if I could get him to advert to the facts stated in that book, I should be able to learn, by comparison, the exact state of the Inquisition at that time.

"The following were the passages in Mr. Dellon's narrative, to which I wished particularly to draw the attention of the Inquisitor. Mr. D. had been thrown into the Inquisition at Goa, and confined in a dungeon, ten feet square, where he remained upwards of two years, without seeing any person but the gaoler, who brought him his victuals, except when he was brought to his trial, expecting daily to be brought to the stake. His alledged crime was, charging the inquisition with cruelty, in a conversation he had with a Priest at *Daman*, another part of India.

"During the months of November and December, I heard, every morning, the shrieks of the unfortunate victims, who were undergoing the *Question*. I remembered to have heard before I was cast into prison, that the Auto da Fe was generally celebrated on the first Sunday in Advent, because on that day is read in the Churches that part of the Gospel in which mention is made of the LAST JUDGMENT; and the Inquisitors pretend by this ceremony to exhibit a lively emblem of that awful event. I was likewise convinced that there were a great number of prisoners, besides myself; the profound silence, which reigned within the walls of the building, having enabled me to count the number of doors which were opened at the hours of meals. However, the first and second Sundays of Advent passed by, without my hearing of any thing, and I prepared to undergo another year of melancholy captivity, when I was aroused from my despair on the 11th of January, by the noise of the guards removing the bars from the door of my prison. The *Alcaide* presented me with a habit, which he ordered me to put on, and to make myself ready to attend him, when he should come again. Thus saying, he left a lighted lamp in my dungeon. The guards returned, about two o'clock in the morning, and led me out into a long gallery, where I found a number of the companions of my fate, drawn up in a rank against a wall: I placed myself among the rest, and several more soon joined the melancholy band. The profound silence and stillness caused them to resemble statues more than the animated bodies of human creatures. The women, who were clothed in a similar manner, were placed in a neighbouring gallery, where we could not see them; but I remarked that a number of persons stood by themselves at some distance, attended by others who wore long black dresses, and who walked backwards and forwards occasionally. I did not then know who these were; but I was afterwards informed that the former were the victims who were condemned to be burned, and the others were their confessors.

"After we were all ranged against the wall of this gallery, we re-

surgeon being found to supply his place. But though he had at first no idea of acceeding to the proposal, it continued to haunt his mind, and to excite his serious consideration. Being a man of most exquisite sensibility, as well as of ar-

ceived each a large wax taper. They then brought us a number of dresses made of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew painted before and behind. This is called the *San Benito.* The relapsed heretics wear another species of robe, called the *Samarra*, the ground of which is grey. The portrait of the sufferer is painted upon it, placed upon burning torches with flames and demons all around. Caps were then produced, called *Carrochas;* made of pasteboard painted like sugar-loaves, all covered over with devils, and flames of fire.

"The great bell of the Cathedral began to ring a little before sunrise, which served as a signal to warn the people of Goa to come and behold the august ceremony of the Auto da Fe; and they made us proceed from the gallery one by one. I remarked as we passed into the great hall, that the Inquisitor was sitting at the door with his secretary by him, and that he delivered every prisoner into the hands of a particular person, who is to be his guard to the place of burning. These persons are called Parains, or *Godfathers.* My Godfather was the commander of a ship. I went forth with him, and as soon as we were in the street, I saw that the procession was commenced by the Dominican Friars: who have this honour, because St. Dominic founed the Inquisition. These are followed by the prisoners, who walk one after the other, each having his Godfather by his side, and a lighted taper in his hand. The least guilty go foremost: and as I did not pass for one of them, there were many who took precedence of me. The women were mixed promiscuously with the men. We all walked barefoot, and the sharp stones of the streets of Goa wounded my tender feet, and caused the blood to stream; for they made us march through the chief streets of the city: and we were guarded every where by an innumerable crowd of people, who had assembled from all parts of India to behold this spectacle; for the Inquisition takes care to announce it long before, in the most remote parishes. At length we arrived at the Church of St. Francis, which was, for this time, destined for the celebration of the Act of Faith. On one side of the Altar was the Grand Inquisitor and his Counsellors; and on the other, the Vice-Roy of Goa and his Court. All the prisoners are seated to hear a Sermon. I observed that those prisoners who wore the *horrible Carrochas* came in last in the procession. One of the Augustin Monks ascended the pulpit, and preached for a quarter of an hour. The sermon being concluded, two readers went up to the pulpit, one after the other, and read the sentences of the prisoners. My joy was extreme, when I heard that my sentence was not to be burnt, but to be a galley-slave for five years. After the sentences were read, they summoned forth those miserable victims who were destined to be immolated by the Holy Inquisition. The images of the heretics who had died in prison were brought up at the same time, their bones being contained in small chests, covered with flames and demons. An officer of the secular tribunal now came forward, and seized these unhappy people, after they

dent piety, his heart was melted with the view of the ignorance, superstition, and misery of the Hindoos; and notwithstanding the difficulties of the undertaking, he at length resolved to remain in the country, and to preach among the poor

had each received a *slight blow upon the breast*, from the Alcaide, to intimate that they were *abandoned*. They were then led away to the bank of the river where the faggots had been prepared the preceeding day. As soon as they arrive at this place the condemned persons are asked in what religion they choose to die; and the moment they have replied to this question, the executioner seizes them, and binds them to a stake in the midst of the faggots. The day after the execution, the portraits of the dead are carried to the Church of the Dominicans. The heads only are represented, (which are generally very accurately drawn; for the Inquisition keeps excellent limners for the purpose,) surrounded by flames and demons; and underneath is the name and crime of the person who has been burned." *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, chap. xxiv.

"In the evening he came in, as usual, to pass an hour in my apartment. After some conversation, I took the pen in my hand to write a few notes in my journal; and, as if to amuse him, while I was writing, I took up Dellon's book, which was lying with some others on the table, and handing it across to him, asked him whether he had ever seen it. It was in the French language, which he understood well. "Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa," pronounced he, with a slow articulate voice. He had never seen it before, and began to read with eagerness. He had not proceeded far, before he betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness. He turned hastily to the middle of the book, and then to the end, and then over the table of contents at the beginning, as if to ascertain the full extent of the evil. He then composed himself to read, while I continued to write. He turned over the pages with rapidity, and when he came to a certain place, he exclaimed in the broad Italian accent, "Mendacium! Mendacium!" I requested he would mark those passages which were untrue, and we should discuss them afterwards, for that I had other books on the subject. "Other books," said he, and he looked with an enquiring eye on those on the table. He continued reading till it was time to retire to rest, and then begged to take the book with him.

"It was on this night that a circumstance happened which caused my first alarm at Goa. My servants slept every night at my chamber door, in the long gallery which is common to all the apartments, and not far distant from the servants of the convent. About midnight I was awaked by loud shrieks and expressions of terror, from some persons in the gallery. In the first moment of surprise I concluded it must be the Alguazils of the Holy Office, seizing my servants to carry them to the Inquisition. But, on going out, I saw my own servants standing at the door, and the person who had caused the alarm (a boy of about 14) at a little distance, surrounded by some of the priests, who had come out of their cells on hearing the noise. The boy said he had seen a spectre, and it was a considerable time before the agitations of his body and voice subsided. Next morning at breakfast the Inquisitor apologized

deluded natives, "the unsearchable riches of Christ." With this view he began in 1777 to learn the Bengalee language, and after sometime he was able not only to converse and to preach in it so as to be understood by the people; but he

for the disturbance, and said the boy's alarm proceeded from a 'phantasma animi,' a phantasm of the imagination.

"After breakfast we resumed the subject of the Inquisition. The Inquisitor admitted that Dellon's description of the dungeons, of the torture, of the mode of trial, and of the Auto da Fe, were, in general, just; but he said the writer judged untruly of the motives of the Inquisitors, and very uncharitably of the character of the Holy Church; and I admitted that under the pressure of his peculiar suffering, this might possibly be the case. The Inquisitor was now anxious to know to what extent Dellon's book had been circulated in Europe. I told him that Picart had published to the world extracts from it, in his celebrated work called "Religious Ceremonies," together with plates of the system of torture and burnings at the Auto da Fe. I added that it was now generally believed in Europe that these enormities no longer existed, and that the Inquisition itself had been totally suppressed, but that I was concerned to find that this was not the case. He now began a grave narration to shew that the Inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated."

"I had already discovered, from written or printed documents, that the Inquisition at Goa was suppressed by a royal edict in the year 1775, and established again in 1779. The Franciscan Father before mentioned witnessed the annual Auto da Fe, from 1770 to 1775. 'It was the humanity and tender mercy of a good king,' said the old father, 'which abolished the Inquisition.' But immediately on his death, the power of the priests acquired the ascendant, under the queen dowager, and the tribunal was re-established, after a bloodless interval of five years. It has continued in operation ever since. It was restored in 1779, subject to certain restrictions, the chief of which are the two following, 'That a greater number of witnesses should be required to convict a criminal than were before necessary;' and 'That the Auto da Fe should not be held publicly as before; but that the sentences of the tribunal should be executed privately, within the walls of the Inquisition.'

"In this particular, the constitution of the new Inquisition is more reprehensible than that of the old one; for, as the old Father expressed it, 'Nunc sigillum non revelat Inquisitio.' Formerly, the friends of those unfortunate persons who were thrown into its prison, had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing them once a year walking in the procession of the Auto da Fe; or if they were condemned to die, they witnessed their death, and mourned for the dead. But now, they have no means of learning for years whether they be dead or alive. The policy of this new code of concealment appears to be this, to preserve the power of the Inquisition, and at the same time to lessen the public odium of its proceedings, in the presence of British dominion and civilization. I asked the Father his opinion concerning the nature and frequency of the punishments within the walls. He said he possessed no certain

translated into it, with the assistance of one of the natives the gospels of Matthew and Mark, the epistle of James, some part of Genesis, several of the Psalms, and different portions of the prophecies, a few copies of which he circulated in man-

means of giving a satisfactory answer, for every thing transacted there was declared to be 'sacrum et secretum;' but this he knew to be true, that there were constantly captives in the dungeons; that some of them are liberated after a long confinement, but that they never speak afterwards of what passed within the place. He added, that of all the persons he had known who had been liberated, he never knew one who did not carry about him what might be called the 'the mark of the Inquisition;' that is to say, who did not show in the solemnity of his countenance, or in his peculiar demeanor, or his terror of the priests, that he had been in that dreadful place.

"The chief argument of the Inquisitor to prove the melioration of the Inquisition was the superior humanity of the Inquisitors. I remarked that I did not doubt the humanity of the existing officers; but what availed humanity in an Inquisitor; he must pronounce sentence according to the laws of the tribunal, which are notorious enough; and a relapsed Heretic must be burned in the flames, or confined for life in a dungeon, whether the Inquisitor be humane or not. But if, said I, you would satisfy my mind completely on this subject, shew me the Inquisition. He said it was not permitted to any person to see the Inquisition. I observed that mine might be considered as a peculiar case; that the character of the Inquisition, and the expediency of its longer continuance had been called in question; that I had myself written on the civilization of India, and might possibly publish something more upon that subject, and that it would not be expected that I should pass over the Inquisition without notice, knowing what I did of its proceedings; at the same time I should not wish to state a single fact without his authority, or at least his admission of its truth. I added, that he himself had been pleased to communicate with me very fully on the subject, and that in all our discussions we had both been actuated, I hoped, by a good purpose. The countenance of the Inquisitor evidently altered on receiving this intimation, nor did it ever after in my presence wholly regain its wonted frankness and placidity. After some hesitation, however, he said he would take me with him to the Inquisition next day. I was a good deal surprised at this acquiescence of the Inquisitor, but I did not know what was in his mind.

"Next morning after breakfast my host went to dress for the Holy Office, and soon returned in his inquisitorial robes. He said he would go half an hour before the usual time for the purpose of shewing me the Inquisition The buildings are about a quarter of a mile distant from the convent, and we proceeded thither in our Manjeels, a kind of palanquin common at Goa. It is a sea cot suspended from a bamboo, which is borne on the *heads* of four men. Sometimes a footman runs before, having a staff in his hand, to which are attached little bells or rings, which he jingles as he runs, keeping time with the motion of the bearers. On our arrival at that place, the Inquisitor said to me, as we

uscript among them. By these means a considerable stir was excited among the Hindoos. Several of them not only acquired some knowledge of the gospel, but appeared to be concerned for their souls; and there were even two or three

were ascending the steps of the outer stair, that he hoped I should be satisfied with a transient view of the Inquisition, and that I would retire whenever he should desire it. I took this as a good omen, and followed my conductor with tolerable confidence.

" He led me first to the Great Hall of the Inquisition. We were met at the door by a number of well dressed persons, who I afterwards understood were the familiars and attendants of the Holy Office. They bowed very low to the Inquisitor, and looked with surprise at me. The Great Hall is the place in which the prisoners are marshalled for the procession of the Auto da Fe. At the procession described by Dellon, in which he himself walked barefoot, clothed with the painted garment, there were upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners. I traversed this hall for some time, with a slow step, reflecting on its former scenes, the Inquisitor walking by my side, in silence. I thought of the fate of the multitude of my fellow creatures who had passed through this place, condemned by a tribunal of their fellow sinners, their bodies devoted to the flames, and their souls to perdition. And I could not help saying to him 'would not the Holy Church wish, in her mercy, to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?' The Inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned me to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By this door he conducted me to some small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the chief Inquisitor. Having surveyed these he brought me back again to the Great Hall; and I thought he seemed now desirous that I should depart. 'Now, Father,' said I, 'lead me to the dungeons below; I want to see the captives.' 'No,' said he, 'that cannot be.' I now began to suspect that it had been in the mind of the Inquisitor from the beginning, to shew me only a certain part of the Inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my inquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness, but he steadily resisted, and seemed to be offended, or rather agitated, by my importunity. I intimated to him plainly, that the only way to do justice to his own assertions and arguments, regarding the present state of the Inquisition, was to shew me the prisons and the captives I should then describe only what I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. 'Lead me down,' said I, 'to the inner building, and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons, ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British government, to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they beheld the light of the sun, and whether they ever expect to see it again. Shew me the Chamber of Tortures, and declare what modes of execution, or of punishment, are now practised within the walls of the Inquisition, in lieu of the public Auto da Fe. If, after all that has passed, Father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing that you

who he hoped were sincere converts to Christianity, though they had not yet been baptized, nor relinquished their cast. Mr. Thomas laboured among them till the beginning of 1792, when he left the country and returned to England.*

* Periodical Accounts, vol. i. p. 7. 14. Missionary Magazine, vol. ii. p. 117.

are afraid of exposing the real state of the Inquisition in India.' To these observations the Inquisitor made no reply, but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. 'My good Father,' said I, 'I am about to take my leave of you, and thank you for your hospitable attentions, (it had been before understood that I should take my final leave at the door of the Inquisition, after having seen the interior,) and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favourable sentiment of your kindness and candour. You cannot, you say, shew me the captives and the dungeons; be pleased then merely to answer this question, for I shall believe your word: How many prisoners are there now below, in the cells of the Inquisition?' The Inquisitor replied, 'That is a question which I can not answer.' On his pronouncing these words, I retired hastily toward the door, and wished him farewell. We shook hands with as much cordiality as we could at the moment assume; and both of us, I believe, were sorry that our parting took place with a clouded countenance.

"From the Inquisition I went to the place of burning in the *Campo Santo Lazaro*, on the river side, where the victims were brought to the stake at the Auto da Fe. It is close to the palace, that the vice-roy and his court may witness the execution; for it has ever been the policy of the Inquisition to make those spiritual executions appear to be the executions of the state. An old priest accompanied me, who pointed out the place and described the scene. As I passed over this melancholy plain, I thought on the difference between the pure and benign doctrine, which was first preached to India in the Apostolic age, and that bloody code, which, after a long night of darkness, was announced to it under the same name! And I pondered on the mysterious dispensation, which permitted the ministers of the Inquisition, with their racks and flames, to visit these lands, before the heralds of the Gospel of Peace. But the most painful reflection was, that this tribunal should yet exist, unawed by the vicinity of British humanity and dominion. I was not satisfied with what I had seen or said at the Inquisition, and I determined to go back again. The Inquisitors were now sitting on the tribunal; and I had some excuse for returning, for I was to receive from the chief Inquisitor a letter which he said he would give me, before I left the place, for the British Resident in Travancore, being an answer to a letter from that officer.

"When I arrived at the Inquisition, and had ascended the outer stairs, the door keepers surveyed me doubtingly, but suffered me to pass, supposing that I had returned by permission and appointment of the Inquisitor. I entered the Great Hall, and went up directly towards the tribunal of the Inquisition, described by Dellon, in which is the lofty Crucifix. I sat down on a form, and wrote some notes; and then desired one of the attendants to carry them in my name to the Inquisitor.

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, the Baptist Missionary society invited Mr. Thomas to return to Bengal under their patronage, and engaged, at the same time, to furnish him with a colleague, should one be found endow-

As I walked up the Hall, I saw a poor woman sitting by herself, on a bench by the wall, apparently in a disconsolate state of mind. She clasped her hands as I passed, and gave me a look expressive of her distress. This sight chilled my spirits. The familiars told me she was waiting there to be called up before the tribunal of the Inquisition. While I was asking questions concerning her crime, the second Inquisitor came out in evident trepidation, and was about to complain of the intrusion; when I informed him I had come back for the letter from the chief Inquisitor. He said it should be sent after me to Goa; and he conducted me with a quick step towards the door. As we passed the poor woman, I pointed to her, and said with some emphasis, 'behold, Father, another victim of the Holy Inquisition!' He answered nothing. When we arrived at the head of the great stair, he bowed, and I took my last leave of Josephus a Doloribus, without uttering a word."

The foregoing particulars concerning the Inquisition at Goa are detailed chiefly with this view: that the English nation may consider, whether there be sufficient ground for presenting a remonstrance to the Portuguese government, on the longer continuance of that tribunal in India; it being notorious that a great part of the Romish Christians are now under British protection. "The Romans," says Montesquieu, "deserved well of human nature, for making it an article in their treaty with the Carthaginians, that they should abstain from sacrificing their children to the gods." It has been lately observed by respectable writers, that the English nation ought to imitate this example, and endeavour to induce her allies "to abolish the human sacrifices of the Inquisition:" and a censure is passed on our government for their indifference to this subject.* The indifference to the Inquisition is attributable, we believe, to the same cause which has produced an indifference to the religious principles which first organized the Inquisition. The mighty despot who suppressed the Inquisition in Spain, was not swayed probably by very powerful motives of humanity; but viewed with jealousy a tribunal which usurped an independent dominion; and he put it down, on the same principle that he put down the popedom, that he might remain Pontiff and Grand Inquisitor himself. But are we to look on in silence, and to expect that further meliorations in human society are to be effected by despotism, or by great revolutions? "If," say the same authors, "while the Inquisition is destroyed in Europe by the power of despotism, we could entertain the hope, and it is not too much to entertain such a hope, that the power of liberty is about to destroy it in America; we might even, amid the gloom that surrounds us, congratulate our fellow creatures on one of the most remarkable periods in the history of the progress of human society, the *final erasure of the Inquisition from the face of the earth.*"† It will indeed be an important and

* Edinburg Review, No. xxxii. p. 449. † Ibid. p. 429.

ed with the qualifications necessary for so important and arduous an undertaking. Such a man was not long wanting. The Rev. William Carey of Leicester, who had a principal share in the original proposal and institution of the society, had, ever since his entrance on the ministry, if not even from an earlier period, contemplated, with deep commiseration, the melancholy state of the Pagan world. His conversation, his prayers, and sermons, usually contained something relative to this interesting subject; and he had lately plead the cause of missions with no small energy and zeal, in a work entitled, "An Enquiry into the obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the Heathen." He possessed, at the same time, an ardent thirst for geographical knowledge, and a singular facility in the acquisition of languages; so that for several years his most intimate friends had been induced to think he was designed by Providence for some great and important undertaking. On him, therefore, the society now fixed their eyes; and no sooner, was he asked to accompany Mr. Thomas to Bengal, than he cheerfully acquiesced in the proposal.*

* Period. Ac. vol. i. p. 1, 34. Brief Narrative of the Bap. Mis. in In. 2d edit. p. 5.

happy day to the earth, when this final erasure shall take place; but the period of such an event is nearer I apprehend in Europe and America, than it is in Asia; and its termination in Asia depends as much on Great Britain as on Portugal. And shall not Great Britain do her part to hasten this desirable time? Do we wait, as if to see whether the power of infidelity will abolish the other Inquisitions of the earth? Shall not we, in the mean while, attempt to do something, on Christian principles, for the honor of God and of humanity? Do we dread even to express a sentiment on the subject in our legislative assemblies, or to notice it in our treaties? It is surely our duty to declare our wishes, at least, for the abolition of these inhuman tribunals, (since we take an active part in promoting the welfare of other nations,) and to deliver our testimony against them in the presence of Europe.

This case is not unlike that of the immolation of females; with this aggravation in regard to the latter, that the rite is perpetrated in our own territories. Our humanity revolts at the occasional description of the enormity; but the matter comes not to our own business and bosoms, and we fail even to insinuate our disapprobation of the deed. It may be concluded then, that while we remain silent and unmoved spectators of the flames of the widow's pile, there is no hope that we shall be justly affected by the reported horrors of the Inquisition.

In June 1793, the two missionaries, together with Mr. Carey's family, embarked on board the Princess Maria, a Danish East Indiaman, and after a voyage of about six months, they landed safe in Bengal. On their arrival, Mr. Carey, as is usual with strangers, conceived a very favourable idea of the character and manners of the natives. He was delighted to see them appear so gentle, soft, and peaceful in their dispositions, and especially so inquisitive and attentive in hearing the gospel; but a little experience soon corrected these early impressions, and convinced him they were a base, cruel avaricious, deceitful race of men. It was not long before they met with Ram Boshoo, one of the natives, of whose conversion they had entertained the most sanguine hopes; but to their inexpressible astonishment and grief, they learned, he had fallen into idolatry. After Mr. Thomas's departure to England, he wandered about from place to place, forsaken by his own countrymen, and neglected by Europeans. In this situation, he was seized with a flux and fever, diseases which in warm climates daily cut off thousands. "I had now," said he, "nothing to support either myself or my family. One of my relations offered to save me from perishing for want, if I would only bow to the idol. I knew that the Roman Catholics worshipped images. I thought they might perhaps be commanded to honour them in some part of the Bible which I had not yet seen. I therefore at last complied, but I love Christianity still." Nothwithstanding his fall, indeed, the missionaries still entertained favourable hopes concerning him: he was a sensible, intelligent, inquisitive man, and though timid in his dispositions, and lukewarm in his zeal, he manifested the greatest ingenuousness and the strictest probity, qualities very rare among the Hindoos. *†

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 45, 79, 138, 64, 67, 75.

† Hitherto the hopes of the missionaries concerning Ram Boshoo have been miserably disappointed. After residing two or three years with Mr. Carey, as his monshee or teacher, he fell into adultery; and

As it was agreed before the missionaries left England, that the society should support them and their families until they were able to provide for themselves, Mr. Thomas took up his residence in Calcutta, under the idea of maintaining himself by his practice as a surgeon, while his colleague proceeded into the country with the view of cultivating some land for his support. Both of them, however, particularly Mr. Carey, had no small trials and hardships to endure at the commencement of their labours, Besides suffering much distress from the severe and tedious illness of his wife and children, as well as of himself, he was, for the first three or four months, reduced to the greatest straits of a pecuniary nature. Owing to a variety of circumstances, which he could neither foresee nor prevent, the investment which was taken out for his immediate support was sunk, so that he and his family were left in a foreign land, entirely destitute of the means of subsistance. These painful occurrences, together with a view of the moral degradation of the Hindoos, and the irreligion of the Europeans, often preyed upon his spirits, and almost overwhelmed him in despair. "When I left England," says he, "my hopes of the conversion of the Heathen were very strong: but amidst so many obstacles, they would utterly languish and die, were they not upheld by God. I seem cast out of the Christian world, and am yet unable to speak with any advantage to the Heathen. I am still at a distance from my colleague, and have no Christian friend to stir me up, and encourage me in the ways of

though this crime is extremely common among the Hindoos, yet as he had some profession of Christianity, Mr. Carey judged it necessary, for the honour of religion, to dismiss him from his service. Afterwards, indeed, he returned, and even wrote some useful tracts in favour of the gospel, which were printed by the missionaries, and extensively circulated through the country; but though convinced himself of the truth and excellency of Christianity, his extreme timidity prevented him from relinquishing cast. The others, of whose conversation Mr. Thomas entertained sanguine hopes, have also disappointed his expectations, none of them have ever made a public profession of the name of Christ. *Period. Accounts*, vol. i. p. 325; vol. ii. p. 69, 137, 245, 286, 379.

God. I am sometimes disheartened, not only by the superstitions of the Hindoos, but by the infidelity of Europeans, who all tell me the conversion of the natives is impossible. In England, I should not be discouraged by the representations of unbelievers, but here I have no faithful brother to sympathise with me, nor am I yet able to make the experiment by preaching the gospel. All my hope is in God; all my comfort arises from him. Though the superstitions of the natives were a thousand times stronger than they are, and the examples of Europeans a thousand times worse; though I were deserted by all, and persecuted by all; yet my hope, fixed on that rock, would rise superior to every obstruction, and triumph over every trial. I feel happy in this, that I am engaged in the work of God; and the more I am employed in it, the more I feel it a rich reward. Indeed, I would rejoice in having undertaken it, even though I should perish in the attempt. What is there in the whole creation worth living for, but the presence and the service of God? I feel a burning desire, that all the world may know this God and serve him."*

Early in the year 1794, Messrs. Thomas and Carey were invited by Mr. U——, a gentleman, who since that period has held some of the most important offices in the India government, to superintend two indigo manufactories, which he had begun to erect in the neighbourhood of Malda. As this proposal not only opened to them the prospect of an ample supply of their pecuniary wants, but presented them with a large and important field of usefulness, affording each of them influence over upwards of a thousand people, and furnishing suitable employment for any of them who might lose cast for the sake of the gospel, they both excepted of it without a moments hesitation. Mr. Carey accordingly settled soon after at Mudnabatty, a place about thirty miles beyond Malda, and Mr. Thomas at Moypauldiggy, sixteen miles further north.†

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 89, 301, 122, 134, 175: 172, 164, 171. Brief Narrative, p 15. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 85, 89.

Being now settled in these two villages, they had each an opportunity of addressing not only the workmen under their inspection, but many others of the natives, who came from different parts of the country to hear them; and as soon as they were able, they erected schools in their respective factories; but the extreme ignorance and poverty of the natives made them take away their children on every slight occasion, and at length it even became necessary to pay the scholars something, in order to encourage them to attend. Besides statedly labouring in the two villages where they resided, they made frequent excursions through the neighbouring country, for the purpose of instructing the inhabitants. "I have a district," says Mr. Carey, "of about twenty miles square, where I am continually going from place to place to publish the gospel, and in this space are about two hundred villages. My manner of travelling is with two small boats, one of which serves me to lodge in, the other for cooking my victuals. All my furniture, as well as my food, I carry with me from place to place, namely, a chair, a table, a bed, and a lamp. I walk from village to village, but repair to my boat for lodging and victuals. There are several rivers in this quarter of the country, which renders it very convenient for travelling."*

In November 1795, they united in forming a Christian church at Mudnabatty; but, at first, it consisted only of four members, namely, the missionaries themselves, and two Europeans of the name of Long and Powel, whom they had baptized.† Hitherto no success had crowned their labours among the Hindoos; a circumstance which could not fail to discourage their hearts, and to damp their exertions. The difficulties attending the conversion of the natives, were greater perhaps, than either they or their friends had ever calculated; and though no doubt could remain of the power of God to subdue their ignorance and obduracy; yet for the present, it pleased him to put the faith and patience of the

* Brief Narrative, p. 20. Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 124, 233, 375.

† Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 225.

missionaries to a severe trial. It may not be improper to take here a slight view of some of the political and moral obstructions which impede the progress of Christianity in India, exclusive of those natural and more powerful obstacles which exist in every country and in every heart.

The first obstruction which naturally strikes the most superficial observer, is the division of the people into casts. The Hindoos, as is well known, were originally divided into four casts or tribes: the Brahmin, the Ketra, the Bice, and the Sooder; each of which is again subdivided into the number of different branches. None of these can ever quit his own cast, or be admitted into another. The station of every individual is unalterably fixed; his destiny is irrevocable. The members of each tribe must adhere invariably to the profession of their ancestors, and continue from generation to generation to pursue one uniform walk of life. In consequence of this unnatural distinction of casts, all motives to exertion, inquiry or improvement, are completely extinguished among the Hindoos; for the most honourable actions, the most beneficial discoveries, the most virtuous conduct, secure no respect or advantage to a person of inferior cast; and, on the other hand, those of high cast suffer no loss in their reputation, by being indolent, ignorant, or vicious. Hence they display a stupid contentment to remain as they are, a total want of curiosity, and not a thought about the enlargement of their understandings, or the amelioration of their heart. Careless and indifferent, they plod in the path of their ancestors; and even truths in philosophy, geography, astronomy, or any other science, if out of the beaten track of antiquity make no more impression on their minds than the sublimer principles of religion. They consider the different casts to be distinct species of animals; and hence conconclude, that it is as possible for them to become some other kind of animal as to become Christians; and that the different forms of worship and habits of life observed by particular casts, are no less necessary to them than eating grass is

to an ox, or flesh to a tyger. The most trifling incidents, however, occasion the loss of cast, as eating, drinking, or smoking with a person of a different tribe or nation. They may, indeed, eat the food of another cast, if no water has touched it. Thus a Brahmin can purchase rice of a Soder, or even of a Mussulman, and eat it; but none except a Brahmin can cook his food. A Hindoo can also smoke the same tobacco which a Mussulman has just been using; but he must take off part of the Hooka which contains the tobacco, and must not smoke through the same water. The loss of cast is, indeed, attended with the most dreadful consequences. No one will eat, drink, or smoke with such a person; no one will marry into his family; his wife, his children, his friends disown him; and are often material sufferers by what he has done, sometimes even losing cast themselves in consequence of it; and thus he ruins them as well as himself. Nor can cast, if once completely lost, ever be recovered. Mr. Carey knew a man whose cast was gone, through a woman in the family being obliged to live with a Mussulman; and though he offered a lack of rupees, or about ten thousand pounds sterling, to have it restored, it was of no avail. Besides, such is the influence of example, that the Mussulmans are as attentive to their imaginary cast as the Hindoos are to theirs; and thus the same obstacle operates with similar force upon them.*

Besides this unnatural division of casts, the system of superstition which the Hindoos have imbibed from their infancy, hath extinguished the light of nature in their breasts, eradicated the principles of conscience, and completely debauched their hearts. They are fond of cherishing the idea, that man is merely a machine, and, of course, not an accountable creature.† One day, as Mr. Carey was discoursing on the nature and evil of sin, one of the principle people who heard him declared he had never committed a sin in his life. "We

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 481, 137, 235.

can do no wrong," said some others who joined in the conversation, "we are only instruments; our will is God in us." Mr. Carey then talked of particular sins, saying, "If you commit theft, lewdness, or murder, are they not your sins?" "O, no," they replied, "they are not our sins; it is God who does all." He used many arguments to convince them of the absurdity and wickedness of such ideas; but all was in vain, until at last he said, "Well, if you can do no sin, come eat some of my rice with me to day. It will be God's act, not yours." With this they were struck dumb, and had not a word to reply. Probably they would sooner have murdered a man, or been hanged themselves, than eaten, or even touched, a particle of victuals dressed by a European. If a Hindoo be detected in theft, or charged with murder, he generally answers, that his *Kopal*, or forehead, is bad. By this they mean, that they were destined by God to commit such crimes; for it is a common opinion among them, that the fate of every man is written in his forehead; and including in that their moral actions, as well as their external circumstances, they conclude, that the whole of their conduct in life is chargeable on God, and not on themselves. This doctrine prevails amongst them almost universally; and to clear themselves of the inconsistency of charging sin on a holy God, they maintain, that no act of the Deity's can be criminal, though ever so great an enormity if committed by a man. The idea of fatality is not confined to the present state of existence, but extends to the life to come, and produces the utmost indifference with regard to futurity. Ask a labourer, whether or not he shall go to heaven when he dies? "What can I do?" he will reply, "if God hath written it in my fate, I shall go to heaven; if not, I shall go to hell. "But do you hope to go to heaven? You are sinful: how shall your sins be forgiven?" "I am a poor man," he will answer, "what can I know? My *gooroo* knows that; he will obtain pardon for me." Perhaps, however, this gooroo, or teacher, is a hundred miles distant: some Brah-

min, whom the poor deluded creature has not seen ten times in his life. Besides, the doctrine of transmigration is a new source of crimes, and renders them still farther proof against the convictions of conscience, and indifferent to that salvation which the gospel reveals. The present life is regarded by them not as a state of probation, but of punishment for the sins of some pre existent state; and hence, however infamous their conduct may be, they assert it cannot be criminal, because they are now expiating former transgressions. Even when they are driven from all these refuges, and are no longer able to still the small voice of conscience, the facility with which they can be cleansed from sin, proves an easy balm for the wound, and forms a powerful barrier to the progress of the gospel among them; for what regard can they be expected to pay to the atonement of Christ, or indeed, what restraint can they feel on their conduct, who have only to wash in the sacred stream of the Ganges, and instantly they are purified from all moral pollution? One day a Hindoo told Mr. Carey, that let him sin as much as he would, the river Ganges would wash it all away. In these opinions of the Hindoos, it is obvious, there are the grossest contradictions; but they see not the inconsistency, and even absurdity itself failed to shock them.*

The servility, the avarice, and the duplicity of the Hindoos, are a further bar to the propagation of Christianity among them. Of the character of the natives in these respects, it is scarcely possible for a European to form a proper idea, they can carry on a fraud to such an inconceivable extent. To the missionaries, this was a very perplexing circumstance, as they found it extremely difficult to form a just estimate of the professions of such as became enquirers about the gospel. Among the Hindoos, the hope of being employed in some work, or recommended to some other person, or even of getting only a few cowries, is sufficient to

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 449, 482; vol. ii. p. 73, 50.

induce a man in easy circumstances to carry on a deception of this kind for a year or two together, with the utmost servility imaginable.*

It is not, however, unworthy of observation, that the cast which we have stated as so considerable a bar to the progress of Christianity in India, may prove highly beneficial as a corrective of this evil. The hindoos being distinguished by the deceitfulness of their character, the renunciation of cast will form a test of sincerity, peculiarly adapted to such a people. Thus the oil of the serpent will prove an antidote to its poison. Were it not for the cast, the dread of imposition would alloy the pleasure of success, and mar the delight of Christian communion; but in consequence of this, the danger of imposition will not be greater in India than in other countries. Some, no doubt, will prove imposters notwithstanding this, for such are found in all ages and in all places; but it is probable the number will not be great, since it is scarcely conceivable that persons should sacrifice nearly all their worldly prospects merely from worldly motives. If, under such circumstances, men should prove deceivers, it is likely they must first have deceived themselves.†

Notwithstanding the numerous and powerful obstructions which impeded the progress of Christianity among the Hindoos, the missionaries by no means despaired of ultimate success; and though many circumstances contributed to discourage them, others also occurred to cheer their hearts. In September 1796, they had the pleasure of welcoming Mr. John Fountain as an assistant in their labours; and just about the period of his arrival, their prospects appeared to brighten, and for a considerable time were fairer than ever. A knowledge of the gospel was now diffused, not only in the places of their residence, but over the whole of the neighbouring country; numbers of the youth had attended the schools, and in their tender years received the rudiments of a Christian

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 483. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 156.

education; and there were even some of the natives, particularly several Mahomedans, who appeared to be impressed with a sense of religion, and seriously concerned for their souls. The missionaries flattered themselves with the hope of their conversion, and expected that some of them would soon be baptized. In this, however, they were disappointed. As these, indeed, fell away, others came in their place; but neither had they the fortitude to abandon the superstition of their country, and to make a public profession of Christianity. So many disappointments must, no doubt, have discouraged the missionaries; yet while the parties continued promising, they contributed to strengthen their hands, and to animate them in their labours.*

In March 1797, Messrs. Thomas and Carey made an excursion to the neighbouring kingdom of Bootan, in the hope of preparing the way for the introduction of Christianity into it. On reaching the borders of that country, they waited on an officer called the Jinkof, and were received by him in a most friendly manner. He immediately sent intelligence of their arrival to the Soobah, a kind of viceroy below the hills, who resided at Botehaut, and who gave orders that they should proceed in great state to that town without delay. The procession was singular and interesting. They set forward on the journey, preceded by a Bengalee band of music, and attended by six horsemen and servants, besides a number of spectators, and people carrying their luggage, tents, &c. On one horse rode the Jinkof, led by two men, notwithstanding which he was sometimes first, sometimes last, his annimal being very ungovernable. Every mile or two he stopped to drink some ardent spirits, a practice to which the inhabitants of Bootan are greatly addicted, though not to such excess as to intoxicate themselves. On another horse rode a Hindoo, who resembled him in every thing except in the custom of drinking. As they approached the town, a

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. 306, 318, 326, 331, 348, 419, 420.

number of females met them, and after making their *salam*, they ran before the horses; and at length, all the inhabitants, of the place, amounting to two or three thousand, joined the procession.*

In this manner, they proceeded to the house of the Soobah, who received them with great politeness, and made them presents of a white silk scarf, in the name of the Grand Lama; of a red one in his own name, and of another of the same description in the name of a friend. After receiving these presents, they ascended by a ladder into his house, which was constructed of bamboos, and mats, with saul-tree pillars. In the upper story were four rooms, completely covered with mats. At the further end of the principal apartment, was the seat of the Soobah, elevated about two feet above the floor, covered with red cloth, and hung round with thin guaze curtains. Here they were placed near the Soobah. On two sides of the same room, were seats for the servants, raised about six inches from the floor, and covered with sackcloth. A window, about four feet deep, consisting of lattice-work, ran along the sides, on which the servants sat; and a curtain of white cotton cloth was fixed above it. On this curtain hung shields and helmets, and under it matchlocks, bows and arrows. The under part of the house served for a stable, &c.†

The politeness and generosity of the Soobah to the missionaries, far exceeded their most sanguine expectations, and appeared indeed truly astonishing. He insisted on supplying all their people with whatever they needed; and if they themselves did but cast their eyes on any object in the room, he immediately presented them with an article of the same description. He even interpreted their looks before they were aware; and in this manner gave each of them that night, a sword, a shield, and a helmet, together with a cup made of a beautiful light kind of wood; and as he perceived they admired the substance of which it was formed, he furnished

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 362. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 364.

them with a large log of it. It resembled fir, was full of resin or turpentine, and burned like a candle when cut into slices, a purpose for which it is employed by the inhabitants of Bootan.*

The Soobah even determined to give the people a public testimony of his respect and friendship for them, and fixed on the next day for the ceremony to take place, in their tent in the market-place. Being instructed in the necessary etiquette, they informed him, that as they had come only a short journey with the view of seeing the country, they were not provided with English cloths, or other articles for presents. This objection being overruled, he waited on them in their tent at the appointed hour, followed by all his servants, both Booteas and Hindoos. Having taken their seats, they mutually exchanged five rupees and five pieces of betel, in the presence of the whole town; and after chewing the betel, they embraced each other three times, in the eastern manner, and then shook hands in the English fashion. He then made each of them a present of a piece of rich *debang*, wrought with gold, a Bootan blanket, and the tail of an animal called the *Choar Cow*.†

The ceremony being ended, the missionaries were conducted to the Soobah's house, where they found another officer, who they believe was the Vakeel, or attorney of the court below the hills. He appeared, however, in every respect the reverse of their friendly host. He sat on his seat like a statue, not deigning to rise when they entered, though the Soobah, a far greater man, uniformly shewed them this mark of respect. When they sat down, he began a long discourse with the people who were present in the Bootan language; and as they did not understand it, they also talked to each other in English. All the time, a servant, by his orders, held a lighted torch in their faces, that he might stare at them. He then asked how many servants they kept, and whether they had a tent. As it was obvious he made these

* Period Accounts, vol. i. p. 365. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 365.

enquiries merely to discover whether they were great men, the answers they returned were very brief, and so afforded him but little satisfaction. After exchanging a few angry words with the Soobah, he abruptly took his departure. Enraged at his conduct, the viceroy tore off his upper garment, seized a dagger, and threatened to go after him and kill him. Happily, however, he was appeased by the missionaries, otherwise, perhaps, he might have executed his bloody purpose.*

Having declined going up the hills, as they had not time to wait for the orders which might have been necessary from the seat of government, they took their departure next morning, and were dismissed by the Soobah with every token of respect which he could heap upon them. Indeed, the whole of his conduct toward them, from first to last, was most generous, polite, and friendly. In the course of this excursion, they preached the gospel in many places where the name of Christ was never heard before. When they spoke about religion, the appellation of *Lama* was given to them, a term which seems to signify a teacher, and is applied to the chief object of worship in Bootan, who is emphatically styled the *Grand Lama.*†

The missionaries having often written for new assistants, particularly for one who understood the art of printing, the society were at length happy in being able to comply with their request. In May 1799, Mr. William Ward, who had been bred a printer, Mr. Joshua Marshman, Mr. Daniel Brundson, and Mr. William Grant, together with their families, sailed for India in an American vessel, commanded by captain Wickes, who, being a pious man, treated them with the care and affection of a father, and has ever since been a most kind and valuable friend to the mission. After a short and agreeable voyage, they landed safe in Bengal; but scarcely had they arrived, when Mr. Grant was attacked by a fever,

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 366. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 362, 365, 366

and died after a few days illness, leaving behind him a widow and two children, as well as his fellow missionaries, to lament his loss.*†

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 520; vol. ii. p. 31.

† The early history of Mr. Grant is rather singular. When about sixteen years of age, he formed an intimacy with a young man who was a Deist, and who infused into his mind the principles of infidelity. With him he read Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary, and they often united in ridiculing the followers of Christ as fanatics and enthusiasts, congratulating themselves as persons liberated from the shackles of ignorance, and the prejudices of the vulgar. Under the influence of these opinions, he made every effort in his power to bring the Bible into contempt among his friends and acquaintance.

After pursuing this course for about two years. he was partially reclaimed from infidelity, by reading Dr Priestley's History of the Corruptions of Christianity; but his heart being the same, he soon relapsed into his former principles, and even proceeded so far as to reject the doctrine of a future state, and to call into question the existence of a Deity. Now he uttered the most horrid blasphemies against religion, and endeavoured to bring all he knew into the same wretched sentiments. Now there was no iniquity which he could not commit without remorse: and though the lengths he went in sin were great, yet they would have been still greater, had not God laid him under restraint by the ill state of health under which he then laboured.

He frequently, indeed, felt the inconsistencies which attached to the system of atheism. By examining more closely the arguments by which it was supported, he at length perceived its fallacy; and by further attention to natural philosophy and anatomy, he discovered such evident traces of an intelligent first cause in the works of creation, particularly in the structure of the human body, as convinced him of the existence of a Deity.

Soon after, he accidentally met with Mr. Marshman, in a Bookseller's shop in Bristol, and formed some acquaintance with him. It was not long, however, before he began to sneer at the absurdities of Calvinism, as he was pleased to call them, particularly the doctrine of atonement; and though he affected to pass for a Socinian, and not entirely to reject the scriptures, it was obvious he had no great reverence for their authority. By means, however, of Mr. Marshman's conversation with him, he was brought to serious reflection on his ways, was persuaded to attend on public worship, which he had hitheto neglected, at it is hoped became a partaker of that grace which he had once blasphemed. Being now impressed with deep concern for the glory of God and the salvation of immortal souls, especially of the poor Heathen, he offered to go as a missionary to Bengal. But though he arrived in that country, he was not permitted to labour among the Hindoos; yet his life, even in relation to this object, was by no means in vain, for it was chiefly through his instrumentality that Mr. Marshman, who has proved so able and useful a missionary, was ever induced to think of going among the Heathen. *Period. Accounts*, vol. i. p. 500.

Upon their arrival, the new missionaries proceeded to Serampore, a Danish settlement on the river Hoogly, about thirteen miles above Calcutta; and as captain Wickes was informed that his ship would not be entered unless they either made their appearance at the police office of Calcutta, or agreed to continue at Serampore, they preferred remaining in their present situation, at least until they had an opportunity of consulting with Mr. Carey. Being informed of these circumstances, Mr. Carey employed all the interest in his power to obtain permission for them to settle in the British territories in the neighbourhood of Malda, but his utmost efforts were of no avail. This plan being frustrated, it became a question whether the missionaries in that quarter should come and join those at Serampore, or whether they should not rather labour separately. With regard to Mudnabatty, the factory at that place, owing to the failure of the crops, had lately been relinquished, and Mr. Carey, with the view of providing for the mission, had taken a small one at Kidderpore, a place about twelve miles distant, where he intended to carry on a little business, and to erect some dwellings for the new missionaries. To leave that quarter of the country would be attended with the loss of 500*l.* on this undertaking, with the sacrifice, in a great measure, of all their past labours, particularly of some promising appearances in the neighbouring city of Dinagepore. On the other hand, at Serampore, they would enjoy the protection of the Danish government, might prosecute the grand ends of the mission, especially the printing of the Holy Scriptures, with greater facility than in their present situation, and would have a more populous neighborhood as the scene of their labours. Weighing these several circumstances, Mr. Carey acquiesced in the wishes of his brethren, and agreed to come to Serampore. Nothing, however, but dire necessity, dictated this measure; it was so far from being the result of human wisdom, that every thing possible was done to avoid it; yet this step, taken with such

extreme reluctance, has been a principal mean of the establishment and success of the mission.*

In January 1800, Mr. Carey removed to Serampore, and on the day after his arrival, he was introduced to the Danish governor, who received him in a very friendly manner. The number of missionaries being now so much increased, one of the first objects to which they directed their attention, was to settle a plan of domestic government; and it was agreed, among other articles, that they should superintend the affairs of the family by turns, for a month: that Saturday evening should be devoted to the adjusting of any differences which might arise among them in the course of the week; and that no one should engage in any employment of a private nature; but that whatever pecuniary profits any of them might realize, should be appropriated to the general purposes of the mission: a regulation from which the most important consequences have resulted, and which, in fact, has proved a principal mean of the support and extension of their labours.†

As the expense of lodgings was extremely heavy, they immediately bought a large house in the middle of the town, for 6000 rupees, the rent of which, in four years, would have amounted to no less than the purchase money. Afterwards, on account of the large and increasing concerns of the mission, they found it necessary to buy the adjacent house, together with the garden and some land, consisting of upwards of four acres, for which they paid 10,340 rupees; and being still in want of room, they have since that time purchased some extensive premises to the eastward, for the sum of 14,200 rupees, making in all near 4000*l.* sterling.‡

The mission had not been long settled at Serampore, when Mr. Fountain was seized with a violent dysentery, which at length put a period to his life, just as he had acquired the

* Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 39, 46; vol. iii. Preface. Brief Narrative, p. 25.

† Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 44.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 44, 186.

language, and was beginning to be useful. He recovered, indeed, in a sonsiderable degree, from the first attack, and went up the country to manufacture indigo, at the particular request of their friend Mr. U——. Soon after his arrival, however, he relapsed into his old complaint, combined with a variety of other disorders, which preyed upon his enfeebled constitution, and baffled all the powers of medicine, as well as the kindness of his friends. But though severely afflicted in his body, he was so comfortable in his mind, that the chamber where he lay seemed "just on the verge of heaven." In him, Death, instead of appearing as the king of terrors, assumed the mild and pleasing aspect of a messenger of peace. One day, on awaking from a short sleep, he exclaimed, "I am so happy, that at this rate I thought I could live out four generations." He desired that all the natives who knew him might be told that he was not afraid to die, that there was no Saviour but Christ, and that unless they believed in him, they would perish forever. His peaceful departure made a deep impression on the minds of his visitors and other friends. "Surely," said one gentleman who often saw him, "this must be genuine religion, which so sticks by a man in his dying moments." The doctor who attended him, acknowledged, that he never saw a person so composed, resigned, and prepared for death as Mr. Fountain, and expressed a wish to die like him. To die like him, indeed, appeared so enviable, that another gentleman could not help wishing himself in his stead, with such a bright and glorious prospect before him. Being one day asked where he would be buried, he misunderstood the question, and supposing that it related to an inscription for his tomb, he replied, "Let there be no epitath on me;" but shortly after he added, "If any thing be said, let it be this:

JOHN FOUNTAIN,
MISSIONARY TO THE INDIES,
AGED 33.
"A SINNER SAVED BY GRACE."

Nature being at length exhausted, he sunk under the ravages of his disorder, and quietly resigned his spirit into the hands of the Redeemer, leaving behind him a widow, to whom he had been married little more than nine months, and who shortly after was delivered of a fine boy, a fatherless child, in a strange land.*

Hitherto, the missionaries had laboured among the Hindoos with little or no success. Thirteen years had now elapsed since Mr. Thomas entered on the work, and in the course of that period he had thrown much away on deceitful, or at least unfruitful characters. Mr. Carey, though he had not relaxed in his labours, was much discouraged; all hope of his own success had now in fact nearly expired. "I acknowledge," says he, "that want of success, together with a sense of my great carnality and unfitness for so important an undertaking has not a little damped my spirits. I know the Lord can work by the meanest instruments, but I often question whether it would be for his honour to work by such a one as me. Perhaps it would too much sanction carnal security and guilty sloth in others, if a person so deeply sunk in these evils should meet with an eminent blessing." Such was the humility of this excellent man! But as the hopes of the missionaries were, perhaps, never so low, their prayers seem never to have been more ardent. By desire of Mr. Thomas, who came about this time on a visit to Serampore, a weekly prayer meeting for the success of the mission was begun; he himself seems to have been more than usually strengthened to wrestle for a blessing; and in speaking of his brethren, he says, "a holy unction appears to rest on them all, especially of late; times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord have been frequent, solemn, and lasting." What was observed of Mr. Carey, seems likewise to have been common to all the other missionaries, that the death of Christ was more and more the subject of their preaching; a circumstance

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 8?

which seems almost uniformly to have been attendant on the success of the gospel among the Heathen.*

Such was the state of the mission, when about the end of November, Mr. Thomas was called to visit a Hindoo of the name of Kristno, who had dislocated one of his arms. After reducing it, he talked to him of the news of salvation through Jesus Christ. The man had heard the gospel before, and was struck with it; now he wept and sobbed like a child. Three or four weeks after, Kristno, together with another of the natives named Gokool, came and ate publicly with the missionaries, and thus voluntarily threw away their cast, which had hitherto seemed like a fortress next to impregnable. In the evening of the same day, both of them, together with Kristno's wife and her sister, who were also seriously impressed by the gospel, presented themselves before the church, and made a solemn profession of their faith in Christ, and of obedience to his commands. The whole of the exercise was highly satisfactory and delightful to all; as for Mr. Thomas, he was almost overcome with joy.†

As soon as it was noised abroad that these people had lost cast, the whole neighbourhood was in an uproar; and having seized Kristno and his family, they dragged them before the chief magistrate, but he, instead of censuring, dismissed them with commendations for their conduct. They then brought them back under a fresh charge, accusing Kristno of refusing to deliver up his daughter to a young Hindoo, to whom she had been contracted in marriage about four years before, but was sent back to remain at her father's till she should be of proper age. Hearing, however, of their embracing the gospel, the young man came to Serampore with some of his friends, and distributing a little money among the populace, raised a mob, who carried them before the magistrate. The parties having, by order of the governor, appeared

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 488; vol. ii. p. 124, 158, 161, 165. Brief Narrative. p. 31.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 122, 124, 140.

before himself, the girl declared she would become a Christian along with her father; while the young man to whom she was espoused, on being asked whether he would renounce Heathenism, replied in the negative. Upon this, the governor told him, that he could not possibly deliver up a Christian woman to a Heathen man; and, therefore, unless he cordially embraced Christianity, he should not have her. Thus the matter terminated for the present, to the great joy of the poor girl, who was much afraid of being brought into this connection.*

Intimidated by the violent proceedings of the mob, or overcome by the tears and entreaties of their relations, Gokool and the two women begged to delay their baptism for some weeks. Kristno, however, remained firm and steadfast amidst the storm; and on the last Sabbath of the year was baptized in the neighbouring river, together with Felix Carey, the eldest son of Mr. Carey, then a youth of about fifteen, and who has since proved a useful and active missionary. The governor, and a number of Europeans, Portuguese, Hindoos, and Mussulmen attended. All was silence and attention. The governor could not refrain from tears, and almost the whole of the spectators seemed to be struck with the solemnity of the ordinance.†

But though Satan found means to delay the baptism of the other three, his triumph was of short duration. By degrees they all took courage and were baptized; and even Gokool's wife, whose opposition to his baptism was the chief cause of its delay, followed his example in a few months.‡ Besides these natives, there was baptized by a Mr. Fernandez, a gentleman from Dinagepore, with whom Carey and Thomas had formed an acquaintance when they were in that part of the country. He was born at Macao, on the coast of China, of Portuguese extraction, and was educated for

* Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 125, 143.
† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 127.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 131, 169, 180, 185.

Roman Catholic priest; but being shocked with the worship of images, he at length left the Church of Rome, and now made a public profession of the Protestant faith. During the short stay which he made at Serampore on this occasion, he was charmed with the amiable deportment of the missionaries in private life, and was extremely loath to leave them. He and another gentleman used to call them, "the happy family." After his return to Dinagepore, he erected a school at his own expense, for the education of native children; he began also to preach to them and to his servants, of whom he had about a hundred, and he was at length set apart to the ministry, though he still continued to carry on his own business.*

In February 1801, the missionaries gained another important triumph, by the publication of the New Testament in the Bengalee language. The translation of the Holy Scriptures for the use of the natives, was an object on which their hearts had long been set. "I would give a million of pounds, if I had them," said Mr. Thomas with his usual ardour, "to see a Bengalee Bible." He had accordingly translated several books, even before his visit to England; but this was a work for which he was less calculated than for some other parts of missionary labour. Mr. Carey, however, was qualified, in no ordinary degree for the undertaking; and ever since he had acquired a knowledge of the language, he had laboured with unwearied diligence, and the most assiduous zeal, in the prosecution of it. He had finished the translation of the New Testament three or four years ago, and was extremely anxious to have had it printed without delay; but various difficulties prevented the accomplishment of his wishes, a circumstance which was probably favourable to the correctness of the version. But soon after the settlement of the mission at Serampore, a press was erected under the superintendence of Mr. Ward, and the printing of the New

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 391; vol. ii. p. 131, 148, 512, 528.

Testament, as well as of several tracts, begun. Mr. Carey had originally proposed to throw off 10,000 copies; but as it was naturally supposed the translation would afterwards require many alterations and improvements, it was judged expedient to limit the impression to 2000 copies, and 500 of the gospel according to Matthew, with some of the most remarkable predictions concerning our Saviour annexed to it. The whole was finished in the short space of about nine months.*

Soon after the publication of the New Testament, Mr. Carey was appointed by Marquis Wellesley, the British governor-general, teacher of the Bengalee and Sungskrit languages in the lately instituted college of fort William. He had no expectation of such an appointment; and when the application was made to him, he had some hesitation in accepting of it, lest it should interfere with his proper work as a missionary; nor did he accept of it until he had consulted with his brethren, who thought, that instead of obstructing, it would promote the interests of the mission. He was afterwards advanced to the rank of a professor in the college, and his salary raised to a thousand rupees a month, or about 1400*l.* a year; the whole of which, agreeably to the established rules of the family, he generously devoted to the purposes of the mission.†

But while the missionaries beheld their labours crowned with such signal prosperity, it was by no means unmingled with adversity. After a long and painful illness, Mr. Brunsdon departed this life at Calcutta in the beginning of July; and in October following, Mr. Thomas died at Dinagepore, of a flux and fever. Thus, in the course of less than two years, Providence was pleased to call off this earthly stage, no fewer than four of the missionaries; while three only

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 292. Memoir relative to the translations of the Scriptures, addressed to the Baptist Missionary Society, p. 4. Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 368, 427, 517; vol. ii. p. 62, 182.

† Brief Narrative, p. 37. Missionary Mag. vol. xii. p. 481.

remained to carry on those important and increasing labours which now devolved upon them.* As Mr. Thomas was the original founder of the mission, it may not be improper to give a slight sketch of his peculiar, yet interesting character.

Mr. Thomas was a man of most exquisite sensibility, combined with remarkable seriousness and deep devotion. He seldom, however, walked in an even path: he was either full of cheerful active love, or his hands hung down as if he had no hope: his joys bordered on ecstacy; his sorrows on despair.†

His talents, at first sight, seemed better adapted for writing and conversation than for preaching; but, in fact, they were accommodated to that kind of preaching to which he was called; a lively, metaphorical, pointed address, dictated by the circumstances of the moment, and maintained amidst the interruptions and contradictions of a Pagan audience. One day, after addressing a number of the natives on the banks of the Ganges, he was accosted by a Brahmin as follows: "Sahib, don't you say that the devil tempts men to sin?" "Yes," answered Mr. Thomas. "Then," said the Brahmin, "certainly it is the devil who is in the fault; the devil, therefore, not man, ought to suffer the punishment." While the people discovered by their looks their approbation of this mode of reasoning, Mr. Thomas observed a boat with several men on board, sailing on the river, and, with that facility of reply for which he was so distinguished, answered, "Brahmin, do you see yonder boat?" "Yes," said he. "Suppose," added Mr. Thomas, "I were to send some of my friends to destroy every person on board, and to bring me all that is valuable in it; who ought to suffer the punishment, I for instructing them, or they for doing the wicked action." "Why," answered the Brahmin, with some

* Periodical Accounts, vol ii. p. 199, 254.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 247.

emotion, "you ought all to be put to death together." "Yes, Brahmin," said Mr. Thomas, "and if you and the devil sin together, the devil and you will be punished together."*

Never, perhaps, did a man enjoy more exquisitely the pleasure of doing good than Mr. Thomas: it was a perfect luxury to him; it seemed to transport his very soul. Such was his sympathy for the poor afflicted Hindoos, that it often affected his own health. Happily his medical skill afforded him ample means of administering to their relief; and such was his reputation among them, that they came from thirty to forty miles round to consult him: there were almost always patients at his door; and when he travelled through the country, the people flocked to him in great numbers. "There is such a sweetness," says he, "in relieving the miserable, that I wonder any man should deny himself that pleasure who is able to afford it. What a luxury it is, (and my eyes are full of tears while I write,) to see poor helpless creatures come to your door, their countenances the picture of despair, and their bodies half dead. Relieve them, and behold they are so overjoyed, that they almost fear it is a dream. This, I say, is a luxury, and the most luxurious pleasure I have tasted here on earth, except only the exceeding riches of the grace of God toward us in Christ Jesus, who, though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor."†

Mr. Thomas, indeed, was a man to whom no person that knew him could feel indifferent; he was sure either to excite love or aversion. In general, his social affectionate carriage produced attachment; and even when he gave offence to his friends, a single interview often dissipated their resentment, and rekindled all their former affection.‡

Possessed, however, as Mr. Thomas was of many excellent and amiable qualities, his faults were neither few nor incon-

* Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 248. Evangelical Magazine, vol. xx. p. 303.

† Periodical Accounts, vol. i. p. 292, 314, 479; vol. ii. p. 251.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 251.

siderable. He was of an irritable temper, wanting in economy, and more ardent to form great and generous plans than patient to execute them. But when we consider the trials he had to endure, (and few men had more in so short a life,) especially when we think of the affliction which overtook him some months before his death, by which he was for several weeks in a state of complete mental derangement, we feel disposed to pity rather than to censure him; as little or no doubt remains, that the unevenness of his temper, and other irregularities with which he was charged, proceeded from a tendency in his constitution to that dreadful malady.*

For a short time before his death, it was obvious to himself, as well as to his friends, that he was gliding swiftly down the stream of time into the ocean of eternity. The world and all sublunary things seemed now to recede from his view, like the sun sinking below the distant mountains. Wearied out with the storms of life, he longed to reach that happy land, where peace, tranquility, and joy, reign with uninterrupted sway. The king of terrors he beheld as if it had been an angel of peace, and anticipated with delight the sublime and exquisite pleasure to which it would soon introduce him. Towards the close of his sickness, his pains were exceedingly great; but even in the midst of extreme anguish he exclaimed, "O! Death, where is thy sting?" At length, after a severe conflict, he breathed his last, and no doubt entered into the joy of the Lord.†

The missionaries who survived did not, however, relax in their exertions, in consequence of these severe and repeated strokes of Providence. Early in 1802, they began to erect a free school for the children of converted natives, and such other youths as might lose cast; and proposed to board and clothe them, as well as to instruct them in the English and Bengalee languages, in divinity, history, geography, and astronomy. In the evening they usually went into the streets

* Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 251. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 252, 254.

of Serampore, where they conversed, disputed, or distributed papers, according to circumstances; and though most of the people mocked, despised, and insulted them, yet some were disposed to hear them, and to read the tracts. The Brahmins were forced to fly from the disputes, or to hear their system exposed to contempt before the populace, who till now had reverenced them as gods; many things which used formerly to be taken for granted by the people, now became matter of dispute, and even Sooders learned to doubt. Some of the missionaries also travelled through the country, and in these journies preached the gospel to multitudes who had never heard it before, distributed thousands of tracts, and, in such places as seemed most eligible, copies of the New Testament. These were received by the people with the utmost avidity; and some of them were carried even as far as Benares, a distance of more than three hundred miles. These excursions were followed by numbers of the natives coming to Serampore from different parts of the country, twenty, thirty, forty, and even sixty miles distant, to inquire after the new way of salvation, concerning which they had obtained some information, either from seeing the papers circulated by the missionaries, or by conversing with those who had seen them. During their stay, they ate and drank with Kristno's family, by which they in effect renounced their cast.*

The missionaries, indeed, now discovered, that numbers of the Hindoos, though they did not abandon their casts, yet despised them in their hearts, and even spoke of them with contempt. Mr. Carey lately met with a Brahmin, who told him, that he had read some part of the Bible in English; that he paid no regard to the Hindoo idols; and that there were several others of the same cast as himself, who were of similar sentiments. To shew his contempt of Hindooism, he set his foot on the gaytree, or sacred verse, which none but a Brahmin may pronounce; and afterwards he took the poito

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 226, 235, 238, 268.

from his neck, and wound it round his great toe. He mentioned the manner in which he had talked with the Brahmins about consecrating a stone, and setting it up as a God; and certainly his reasoning, though sarcastic, was not inconclusive: "You know," said he, "that this is a stone; a workman cut it into its present form; before it was thus shaped it could do nothing, and can you suppose that the labours of a stonecutter can invest it with divine power?" "No," they replied, "but the priest annoints it, and pronounces the words of consecration, upon which the divinity enters into it." "Well," said he, "if you have power to invest a stone with divinity, I should think you could turn a man into a deity. You see I am a poor man, and suffer much distress in the world; but a stone meets with no trouble: besides, I can not only speak, but eat the sacrifices, which a stone cannot. Now, why not turn me into a god? If you could do this, it would be an act of charity; for I should get rid of all my troubles, and be happy at once. Besides, being a man and a Brahmin, I have the first claim upon you."*

The missionaries, indeed, now discovered whole communities of the Hindoos, in different parts of the country, who despised their casts, their Brahmins, and their gods. About forty or fifty years ago, a man, by birth a cow-keeper, began to draw a number of the people to him, by pretending to cure diseases, and laid the foundation of a new sect, which now amounts to some thousands. His son, named Dulol, succeeded him as their leader, and now resided in a village about twenty miles above Serampore, where he lives in all the splendour of a Rajah, by means of the liberal gifts of his followers, who assembled in that place, from all parts of the country, several t mes a year. This sect seems to have few distinguishing tenets. The chief are that the cast is nothing —that the debtahs are nothing—that the Brahmins are nothing. Dulol had succeeded to the power and influence of the

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 235. Missionary Magazine, vol. viii. p. 178.

whole priestly order. They meet and eat together every year; but yet they dissemble the fact, and retain their rank in their respective casts and families; and while they profess to despise the debtahs, they continue to worship them, calling it outward work. In short, they were Hindoos before the world—Antinomians in heart and life—and Deists among themselves.*

Being invited by another class of Hindoo dissenters at Luckphool, in the district of Jessore, to come and explain the gospel to them, it was agreed that Mr. Marshman should go and visit them. On his arrival at that place, he was received by them in a most kind and affectionate manner; and when he preached the glad tidings of salvation to them, they listened with a pleasure and earnestness rarely witnessed in India. They, indeed, put questions to him as he proceeded, demanded proof for every thing and started some objections to what he said; but all was in the spirit of candour and impartiality. He learned, that they were about two hundred in number in that and the adjacent villages, and consisted of Mussulmen and Hindoos of various casts. They professed, however, to be convinced of the absurdity and wickedness both of the Mahommedan and the Brahminical systems; but acknowledged that they were yet ignorant of the true religion, and, therefore, having heard of the gospel, were desirous to learn its nature and principles. Neeloo, their leader, was a grave and elderly man, and, it was said, had always been so distinguished for the meekness of his temper, that he avoided the very spot which had been the scene of a quarrel; and if any of his followers became fretful under injuries, he admonished them to bear all with patience, or not to come near him. He appeared to abominate the whole of the Brahminical system, and even to manifest a tender concern for its deluded votaries, wondering, it was said, how his followers could be happy amidst such a general destruction of the

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 262, 278.

souls of their fellow creatures. He had taught them there was one God, whom he called Father, who alone was to be worshipped; that sin was to be forsaken; and that a farther revelation was to be expected: and now he recommended the gospel to them, as being that revelation he had led them to look for. It was afterwards found, indeed, that with these opinions he mingled no small portion of Pagan error; and that, among other things, he and his followers maintained the doctrine of universal restitution, an idea very prevalent in India.*

In returning from Luckphool, Mr. Marshman was informed of a man, named Seeb Ram Dass, who also rejected idolatry, and was said to have about 20,000 followers, consisting both of Hindoos and Mussulmen. On going to visit him, the old man received him in a very friendly manner, and even expressed his approbation of what he heard of the gospel. Afterwards, however, when he understood something more of its nature, he wrote to his disciples in other places, warning them against it, telling them, that if they regarded it, they would have pigs faces, and go to hell for a long time after death. It is a circumstance not unworthy of observation, that the missionaries uniformly found, that so long as people did not understand the import of their message, they appeared to listen to it; but the moment they understood something of its nature, they either became indifferent, or began to ridicule and oppose it, unless it came with power to their hearts.†

Besides visiting these numerous sects of Hindoo dissenters, the missionaries received an invitation from a respectable family at Chinsurah, who were followers of a man named Chytunya, who, three or four years ago, set up a new sect in Bengal, reprobated the distinction of casts, and contemned the various idols worshipped by the Hindoos. These people shewed no disposition to embrace the gospel; but

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 304, 314, 338, 344. 393.

† Ibid. vol. p. 273, 347, 373, 491.

they manifested a violent enmity to the Brahmins; and in a curious memorial which they soon after presented to the chief magistrate of the police at Calcutta, they complained, that as it was a great misery to be born into this world even but once, the Brahmins were extremely culpable in neglecting to instruct them, since, by this means, they rendered them liable, as a punishment for their sins, to be born many times. These various classes of Hindoos, though they despised the religion of their country in their hearts, conformed to it in their practice, for the sake of their reputation and comfort in society. Wearied with the tyranny of the Brahmins, and trained up from their earliest years in the belief of the strangest and most incredible lies, they catch at every new absurdity, and become the dupes of every bold imposter. Perhaps, however, by loosing the shackles of Hindooism, this very circumstance may prepare the way for the triumph of the Prince of Peace.*

In January 1803, Mr. John Charberlaine and his wife, who had left England the preceding summer, arrived safe at Serampore, and were received with peculiar pleasure, not only by the other missionaries, but by the native converts. Soon after their arrival, they beheld a new instance of the triumph of Christianity over the prejudices of the Hindoos: Kristno Prisaud, a young man of the Brahminical order, who had lately embraced the gospel, was married to one of the other converts, who was a Sooder. Mr. Carey, after explaining the nature and design of marriage, and noticing the impropriety of some of the Hindoo customs with regard to it, united them in the bonds of matrimony. On the following day the missionary family supped with the young couple, under the shade where the ceremony had been performed; while some of the neighbours looked on with a kind of amazement. This was, indeed, a new scene, in a country where the distinction of clean and unclean is so rigidly regarded; it was a glorious triumph over the cast. Suppos-

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 365, 366, 391, 403.

ing the Hindoo chronology to be true, there had not been such a spectacle in Bengal for many millions of years, as a Brahmin married to a Sooder; the ceremony performed not in the Hindoo but the Christian fashion; and even foreigners eating with the young couple!*

Pleasing, however, as was the progress of the work on the whole, the missionaries experienced no small perplexity respecting some of the converts, and were even obliged to suspend several of them from the Lord's table, on account of certain irregularities in their behaviour; but most of these offenders were in a short time brought to a sense of their sin, and were of course, restored to the communion of the church. Mr. Carey in a letter to a friend, makes the following candid and judicious, yet feeling, observations respecting them; "With regard to the natives, the Lord has, on the one hand, stopped the mouths of malignant opposers, and on the other, we have enough of labour with them, to check, on our part, security and pride. It would, indeed, give you great pleasure could you step in among us on a communion Sabbath, and witness the lively affection with which such a number of persons of different colours, and of distant tribes, unite in commemorating the death of Christ. You must not, however, suppose, that the converts are without their faults, or even that in knowledge and steadiness they equal the same number of Christians in England. We have to contend with their versatility, to bear with their precipitancy, to nurse them like children in the ways of righteousness. Sometimes we have to rebuke them sharply, sometimes to expostulate, sometimes to entreat; and often, after all, to carry them to the throne of grace, and to pour out our complaints before God. Our situation, in short, may be compared to that of a parent who has a numerous family. He must work hard to maintain them, is often full of anxiety concerning them, and has much to endure from their dullness, their indolence,

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 360. 374.

and their perverseness. Yet still he loves them, for they are his children, and his love towards them mingles pleasure with all his toil."*†

Meanwhile, the Brahmins and many others of the Hindoos were not a little irritated by the progress of the gospel, and treated the missionaries, as well as the converts, with great opposition and contempt. Sometimes when the mis-

* Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 356, 416, 437.

† It is not unworthy of observation, that the converts from among the Heathen, both in Bengal and in other countries, may be real Christians, and yet notwithstanding prove less amiable and consistent characters, than the followers of Christ in places where the gospel has long been known. Human character, as cognizable by man, is a compound of different materials, and the result of a variety of causes. The general state of morals in a country, for instance, has a mighty influence in regulating the views, and influencing the conduct of the inhabitants. In Britain, where lying, theft, robbery, adultery, &c. are in a considerable degree the objects of shame and disgrace, no man, and still less a Christian, can preserve his reputation, if he openly indulges in these or similar crimes. It is not so, however, in Hindostan. There such vices are so common, that no manner of ignominy attaches to them; and hence there is nothing in the tone of public morals to restrain a Hindoo from these and other gross immoralities. If he be restrained from them, it is chiefly through the influence of Christian principles, and the operation of divine grace on his heart. These observations are true, not merely of converts from among the Heathen in modern times; they are no less applicable to the converts even of the apostolic age, as appears from the history of the church at Corinth. That city, as is well known, was vicious to a proverb, and even the Christian inhabitants participated of its vices. They divided into violent parties; they held communion at idolatrous feasts; they connived at incest, even under its most disgraceful form; they prostituted the Lord's Supper itself to the shameful purposes of drunkenness. Were such a community of professed Christians to appear amongst us, we should probably deem them a company of abandoned hypocrites, and give them up as total strangers to vital religion. Yet Paul did not act in that manner. He followed them; he exhorted them; he reclaimed them. It is therefore not unworthy of our serious inquiry, Whether the purity and regularity of our character is not owing more to various adventitious circumstances, than to the immediate influence of the gospel? If all that appears amiable and lovely in us, which springs from no higher source than a regard to our own interest or reputation, were taken out of the scale, and nothing left but what was purely the effect of Christian principle, many of us might not, perhaps, greatly outweigh a Corinthian or a Hindoo.

sionaries were preaching, the people shouted and laughed, attacked them with abusive language, and endeavoured to create an uproar. A Brahmin being one day asked, why he opposed what Mr. Carey had said, made this reply, "Because he tells me of Jesus Christ, that hated name." On another occasion, when Mr. Marshman was endeavouring to quiet some of the Brahmins, one more insolent than the rest declared, among other expressions equally respectful, that it was a sin for him to hear him, or even to look in his face.

The Christian converts were still more exposed to the insolence and abuse of their countrymen, than even the missionaries; but they bore all with patience and meekness, shewing no disposition to return evil for evil. In Calcutta, multitudes of the natives used to follow them through the streets, clapping their hands, and insulting them in every form. Some abused them as feringas, others for losing cast; some called them *Yesoo Khreest*, and bowing to them, said, "Salam Yesoo Khreest." One day, when several of them, were in a neighbouring town, the populace set upon them as feringas, as destroyers of cast, as having eaten fowls, eggs, &c. On their attempting to return, the mob began to beat, and otherwise maltreat them, and a man who was a civil officer grazed the point of a spear against the body of one of them. Finding them bear all these insults with patience, they threw cow-dung, mixed in Gonga water, at them; talked of making them a necklace of old shoes; and threatened, that should they ever return, they would murder them. One of the converts, who resided in a distant village, was seized by the chief Bengalee man of the place, who bound his hands, and dragged him from his house, while the whole of the villagers hissed at him, threw dirt and cow-dung upon him, clogged his face, eyes, and ears with cow-dung, and in this state kept him tied up to the pillar of an idol temple, for several hours. Besides these acts of violence, the converts suffered many other serious inconveniences from the enmity of

their countrymen. They could scarcely, for instance, obtain ground to build upon, or even a house to rent. One of them, after going about for two or three days, and wandering over the whole town, at last persuaded a woman to let him a house; but though she herself was a foringa, yet when she heard he was a Brahmin who had turned a Christian, she insulted him and drove him away.*

Among the trials which the converts had to endure, their situation in respect to marriage, was not the least considerable. In some cases, they appeared to have had more than one wife at the time of their conversion. After discussing the duty of a person in such circumstances, the missionaries, however, seem to have determined, that though the New Testament condemns polygamy, yet when a man happens to have more than one wife when he embraces Christianity, he is not required to put any of them away, only he is thereby disqualified for the office of the ministry. In other cases the converts were obliged at the same time to forsake their homes, their friends, and even the wife of their bosom; nor would she afterwards have any correspondence with them; or if willing herself, was forcibly prevented by her relations. By this means they were to all intents and purposes reduced to a state of widowhood, and were in no small danger of falling into sin. It therefore became a question with the missionaries, whether it was not lawful for a person in such circumstances to marry a second wife while his first was still living, after he had in vain employed all possible means to induce her to return to him, and not being able to recover her, had taken some public and solemn measures to acquit himself of the blame. This question they at length resolved in the affirmative; a decision in which they are supported by some very eminent writers, and which considerably lessened the difficulty of the case. These questions are certainly of a

* Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 378, 507; vol. iii. p. 38, 41, 57, 245. Missionary Magazine, vol. viii. p. 177.

very delicate nature: difficulties of no small magnitude attach to whatever view we take of them; yet the solution which the missionaries gave of them, is perhaps, on the whole, the most scriptural, rational, and just.*

But while the conversion of the natives gave great offence to their countrymen in general, it is easy to conceive that in some instances it might occasion them concern, and even give rise to scenes of the most tender and affectionate nature; for superior as Christianity is to Hindooism, it is not to be supposed that a Pagan should be sensible of its transcendent excellence. Of this we have an interesting example in the history of Soroop, a young Brahmin, whose father came to Serampore in order to take him away. One day, as Mr. Ward was sitting among the native converts in the Bengalee school, hearing them read and explain a portion of the Holy Scriptures, an aged grey headed Brahmin, well dressed, came in, and standing before him, said, with folded hands, and in a supplicating tone of voice, "Sahib, I am come to ask an alms." Beginning to weep, he repeated these words hastily, "I am come to ask an - - - alms." Mr. Ward desired him to say what alms; and told him, that, judging from his looks, it did not seem as if he wanted any relief. Being pressed on the subject, the old man at length asked him to give him his son, pointing to a young man named Soroop, in the midst of the native convers; and then he set up a plaintive cry, saying, that was his son. Having endeavoured to comfort him, they at last prevailed on him to come and sit down upon the veranda. Here he began to weep again; and said, that the young man's mother was dying with grief; that her time was come; and that if he could but go home and see her, he should after that return again, or stay there, just as he pleased. Being informed by Mr. Ward that Soroop since his coming had been away once, when

* Brief Narrative, p. 50. Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 530; vol. iii. 314.

they did not hinder him, and that he was still at perfect liberty either to stay or depart, as he thought proper; the old Brahmin threw himself prostrate at his feet, and with tears thanked him for these words. Mr. Ward prevailed upon him to rise, and endeavoured to assuage his grief; but he also proposed that the young man should stay all night, that his mind might become calm, and that he might pray for divine direction; and that in the morning, if he wished to go away, they would not hinder them. The Brahmin, however, was averse to this proposal; he again urged, that his poor old mother was dying of grief - - - and if he would but go - - - and if he did not like to stay, he might write a deed of separation for the preservation of their cast, and then he might do as he pleased. Mr. Ward told him his son was not a child, otherwise he might command him; but as he was now a man, he ought to choose his religion for himself. The old man acknowledged the propriety of this, and said it was not in his power to use force over him now. He at length called his son aside, and set up a great cry, weeping over him, and beseeching him to return. It was agreed, however, that Soroop should remain over the night; and though the missionaries were much afraid that he would be overcome by the tenderness and grief of his father, yet they resolved to employ no other influence with him than exhortation and prayer. On leaving the school, Mr. Ward found that the old man had fallen down at the door in an agony of grief, and that one or two of his disciples who came with him were holding him up, endeavouring to persuade him to rise and go with them. Soroop, from the first, expressed his resolution not to return with his father; and next morning he declared that he would not go now, but said he would go soon, meaning after he should be baptized. At length, a person who seemed to be a friend of the old Brahmin's asked, Whether Soroop had eaten with those who were Christians. He was answered in the affirmative. Finding, therefore, that the

young man would not go, and that he had in fact already lost cast, the people who had assembled on this occasion were constrained to depart. His aged father, however, said that he could not return without him, but would lie down and die at Serampore. Such a scene must have been highly affecting. There was reason, however, to believe, we suppose, that the mother's illness was merely a pretence, to draw the son back to idolatry*

In January 1804, Mr. Chamberlaine, and Felix Carey, accompanied by two of the native converts, went to Saugur island, the furthermost point of land where the river and the sea meet, for the purpose of distributing tracts and Testaments among the Hindoos, who assemble here in immense crowds at this season of the year. As they approached that place, they fell in with numbers of boats, full of people, some of whom presented the most degrading and disgusting sights it is almost possible to imagine. Their hair had not been dressed, perhaps, for years; their beards had grown to an enormous length; their bodies were covered with the most odious and indecent figures. Some of these wretched creatures had come a journey of three, four, or even five months, to bathe in Gonga Saugur. On reaching this place, the missionaries were astonished beyond measure at the sight. In the course of a few days, there had been raised an immensely populous city, full of streets, lanes, and markets; many kinds of trade were now carrying on with all the hurry and bustle of an established town. Crowds of men, women, and children, high and low, rich and poor, were bathing in the river and worshipping Gonga, by bowing, making salams, and spreading their offerings; consisting of rice, flowers, cowries, and other articles, on the shore, for the goddess to take when the tide returned. Formerly, many of them used to devote themselves or their children to the sharks and alligators which abound in this part of the river, and were of

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 271; vol. iii. p. 43, 304.

course devoured by them; but of late, the British government had passed an act against this horrid practice, declaring it murder, punishable with death; and a guard of fifty Seapoys, under the command of a European sergeant, was placed along the banks, in order to prevent it. The water and mud of this place are esteemed so precious and holy, that quantities of them are carried hundreds of miles into the country on men's shoulders. The natives sprinkle their bodies with the water, and daub themselves with the mud; and this, they say, purifies them from all sin. The multitude assembled on this occasion was computed to amount to one hundred thousand, though probably double that estimate would have been nearer the truth. Besides conversing with them on the subject of religion, Mr. Chamberlaine and his companions distributed among them vast quantities of papers, tracts, and hymns, together with a number of copies of the New Testament, and of the book of Psalms. Most of those to whom they gave them came from distant parts of the country, where the gospel had never been made known, and the news of salvation never heard.*

In the month of May following, Mr. Chamberlaine was sent to form a new missionary establishment at a place called Cutwa, about seventy miles from Serampore, up the river Hoogley. It was not, however, without considerable difficulty that he procured a spot of ground for this purpose. He was forced to leave one place after he had begun his operations, through the violent opposition of the people; but at length he procured a piece of land consisting of about two acres, pleasantly situated by two tanks, and a fine grove of mango trees, at a small distance from the town. Having erected on this spot a spacious bungalow for his family, he lost no time in beginning his labours among the natives. In discoursing with them on the subject of religion, he took great delight, and was often so constantly employed in this exercise, that he

* Periodical Accounts, vol. ii. p. 515, 516. Buchanan's Christian Researches, 3d edition, p. 42.

had scarcely time to refresh himself. He also opened a school for the education of the youth, and placed it under the superintendence of a Brahmin.*

Mr. Chamberlaine had not been many months at Cutwa, when he sustained a severe loss in the death of his excellent wife. When she was about to be confined, Mr. Marshman came up in their budgerow, with the view of carrying her down to Serampore, that she might enjoy all the assistance and attention which her situation demanded; but on reaching the house, he met Mr. Chamberlaine at the door, almost overwhelmed with grief. She had already been delivered four days, and at first promised to do well; but now all hope of her recovery was gone, and on the following day she breathed her last. The distress of her bereaved partner, at the time of her death, it is more easy to conceive than describe. Hanging over the lifeless corpse, he exclaimed, like one half distracted: "Oh! my dear Hannah: Speak to me once more, my dear Hannah!" She appears, indeed, to have been a most amiable, affectionate, pious woman. She was so much beloved by the whole missionary family, that her loss was more deeply deplored by them, than any other death which had happened among them.†

About a year after, Mr. Chamberlaine was married to Mrs. Grant, the widow of the late Mr. Grant, who died immediately on his landing in Bengal; but in a short time, he was deprived of her also, and thus was left, if possible, more desolate than ever. When the time of her confinement drew near, the budgerow was sent up to Cutwa, with an earnest request that she would return with it, to Serampore. She accordingly went on board, and sailed for that place; but that very evening she was taken in labour, and after three hours severe distress was delivered of a fine boy; but this was soon followed by symytoms of a dangerous nature. About six o'clock next morning, Mr. Chamberlaine per-

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 59, 114. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 69.

ceived her countenance suddenly alter: He spoke to her, but received no answer: She breathed gently a few moments, closed her eyes, and fell asleep in Jesus. "Thus," says he, "I am afflicted with wave upon wave; and now I am like a wreck after a storm. The arrows of the Almighty stick fast in me, and I am consumed with the blow of his hand: Yet still, his strokes are fewer than my sins, and lighter than my guilt. "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord."*

Besides these severe trials, Mr. Chamberlaine met with violent opposition from the natives; but yet his labours in this place were not in vain. Among several of the Hindoos, he had often beheld some favourable symptoms, which cheered his heart, amidst all his toils and sorrows. After his hopes had been often elevated, and as often disappointed with regard to them, he at length had the pleasure of beholding the fruit of his labours, in the baptism of several of the natives. But his chief success was among the British soldiers in the fort of Berhampore. In the course of one year, he baptized no fewer than thirty-six of them; but soon after, as we shall soon have occasion to notice, he was sent on a mission to Upper Hindostan; and Mr. William Carey, jun. one of the sons of Dr. Carey, was sent to supply his place. Since that time the principal success has been at Lakrakoonda, a large town in Bheer-boom, and the villages around it, where there is a branch of the Cutwa church. Several schools have likewise been opened in that part of the country.† Having given this account of the settlement at Cutwa, it is now time to return to Serampore.

In the year 1805, Richard Mardon, William Moore, John Biss, and Joshua Rowe, landed in Bengal; and soon after their arrival, the whole body of the missionaries entered into a "Form of Agreement," respecting the great principles on which the mission should be conducted. This document

* Period. Accounts. vol. iii. p. 283.
† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 228, 250, 252, 336. Missionary Register, vol. p. 357.

breathes so much of the spirit of genuine Christianity, exhibits so fully the system of our Baptist brethren in Christianizing the Hindoos, and affords so admirable an example to other missionaries, that we cannot forbear inserting it entire, and trust that its importance will be deemed a sufficient apology for its length:

"The Redeemer," say the missionaries, "in planting us in this Heathen nation rather than in any other, has imposed upon us the cultivation of peculiar qualifications. We are firmly persuaded that Paul might plant and Apollos water in vain in any part of the world, did not God give the increase. We are sure, that only those who are ordained to eternal life will believe, and that God alone can add to the church such as shall be saved. Nevertheless we cannot but observe, with admiration, that Paul, the great champion for the glorious doctrines of free and sovereign grace, was the most conspicuous for his personal zeal in the work of persuading men to be reconciled to God. In this respect he is a noble example for our imitation. Our Lord intimated to those of his apostles who were fishermen, that he would make them fishers of men, intimating that in all weathers, and amidst every disappointment, they were to aim at drawing men to the shores of eternal life. Solomon says, "He that winneth souls is wise," implying, no doubt, that the work of gaining over men to the side of God was done by winning methods, and that it required the greatest wisdom to do it with success. Upon these points we think it right to fix our serious and abiding attention.

I. In order to be prepared for our great and solemn work, it is absolutely necessary that we set an infinite value upon immortal souls; that we often endeavour to affect our minds with the dreadful loss sustained by an unconverted soul launched into eternity. It becomes us to fix in our minds the awful doctrine of eternal punishment, and to realize frequently the inconceivably awful condition of this vast coun-

try, lying in the arms of the wicked one. If we have not this awful sense of the value of souls, it is impossible that we can feel aright in any other part of our work, and in this case it had been better for us to have been in any other situation rather than that of a missionary. Oh! may our hearts bleed over these poor idolaters, and may their case lie with continued weight on our minds, that we may resemble that eminent missionary, who compared the travail of his soul, on account of the spiritual state of those committed to his charge, to the pains of child-birth. But while we thus mourn over their miserable condition, we should not be discouraged, as though their recovery were impossible. He who raised the sottish and brutalized Britons to sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, can raise these slaves of superstition, purify their hearts by faith, and make them worshippers of the one God in spirit and in truth. The promises are fully sufficient to remove our doubts, and to make us anticipate that not very distant period, when He will famish all the gods of India, and cause these very idolaters to cast their idols to the moles and the bats, and renounce forever the work of their own hands.

II. It is very important that we should gain all the information we can, of the snares and delusions in which these Heathens are held. By this means we shall be able to converse with them in an intelligible manner. To know their modes of thinking, their habits, their propensities, their antipathies, the way in which they reason about God, sin, holiness, the way of salvation, and a future state; to be aware of the bewitching nature of their idolatrous worship, feasts, songs, &c. is of the highest consequence, if we would gain their attention to our discourse, and would avoid being barbarians to them. This knowledge may be easily obtained by conversing with sensible natives, by reading some parts of their works, and by attentively observing their manners and customs.

III. It is necessary, in our intercourse with the Hindoos, to abstain, as far as we are able, from those things which would increase the prejudices against the gospel. Those parts of English manners which are most offensive to them should be kept out of sight as much as possible. We should also avoid every degree of cruelty to animals. Nor is it advisable at once to attack their prejudices, by exhibiting, with acrimony, the sins of their gods; neither should we, upon any account, do violence to their images, nor interrupt their worship: the real conquests of the gospel are those of love: "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." In this respect, let us be continually fearful lest one unguarded word, or one unnecessary display of the difference betwixt us, in manners, &c. should set the natives at a greater distance from us. Paul's readiness to become all things to all men, that he might by any means save some; and his disposition to abstain even from necessary comforts, that he might not offend the weak, are circumstances worthy our particular notice. This line of conduct we may be sure was founded on the wisest principles. Placed amidst a people very much like the hearers of the apostle, in many respects we may now perceive the solid wisdom which guided him as a missionary. The mild manners of the Moravians, and also of the Quakers, towards the North American Indians, have, in many instances, gained the affections and confidence of Heathens in a wonderful manner. He who is too proud to stoop to others, in order to draw them to him, though he may know that they are in many respects inferior to himself, is ill qualified to become a missionary. The words of a most successful preacher of the gospel still living, "that he would not care if the people trampled him under their feet, if he might become useful to their souls," are expressive of the very temper we should always cultivate.

IV. It becomes us to watch all opportunities of doing good. A missionary would be highly culpable, if he conten-

ted himself with preaching two or three times a week, to those persons whom he might be able to get together, into a place of worship. To carry on conversations with the natives almost every hour in the day, to go from village to village, from market to market, from one assembly to another; to talk to servants, labourers, &c. as often as opportunity offers, and to be instant in season and out of season—this is the life to which we are called in this country. We are apt to relax in these active exertions, especially in a warm climate; but we shall do well always to fix it in our minds, that life is short, that all around us are perishing, and that we incur a dreadful woe if we proclaim not the glad tidings of salvation.

V. In preaching to the Heathen, we must keep to the example of Paul, and make the great subject of our preaching, Christ the crucified. It would be very easy for a missionary to preach nothing but truths, and that for many years together, without any well-grounded hope of becoming useful to one soul. The doctrine of Christ's expiatory death and all-sufficient merits, has been, and must ever remain, the grand mean of conversion. This doctrine, and others immediately connected with it, have constantly nourished and sanctified the church. Oh! that these glorious truths may ever be the joy and strength of our own souls, and then they will not fail to become the matter of our conversation to others. It was the proclaiming of these doctrines, that made the reformation from Popery, in the time of Luther, spread with such rapidity. It was these truths which filled the sermons of the most useful men in the eighteenth century. It is a well-known fact, that the most successful missionaries in the world, at the present day, make the atonement of Christ their continued theme;—we mean the Moravians. They attribute all their success to the preaching of the death of our Saviour. So far as our experience goes in this work, we most freely acknowledge, that every Hindoo among us

who has been gained to Christ, has been won by the astonishing and all constraining love exhibited in our Redeemer's propitiatory death. Oh! then may we resolve to know nothing among Hindoos and Mussulmen, but Christ and him crucified.

VI. It is absolutely necessary that the natives should have an entire confidence in us, and feel quite at home in our company. To gain this confidence, we must on all occasions be willing to hear their complaints; we must give them the kindest advice, and we must decide upon every thing brought before us in the most open, upright, and impartial manner. We ought to be easy of access, to condescend to them as much as possible, and on all occasions to treat them as our equals. All passionate behaviour will sink our characters exceedingly in their estimation. All force, and every thing haughty, reserved, and forbidding, it becomes us ever to shun with the greatest care. We can never make sacrifices too great, when the eternal salvation of souls is the object, except, indeed, we sacrifice the commands of Christ.

VII. Another important part of our work is, to build up and to watch over the souls that may be gathered. In this work we shall do well to simplify our first instructions as much as possible, and to press the great principles of the gospel upon the minds of the converts, till they be thoroughly settled and grounded in the foundation of their hope towards God. We must be willing to spend some time with them daily, if possible, in this work. We must have much patience with them, though they may grow very slowly in divine knowledge.

We ought also to endeavour, as much as possible, to form them to habits of industry, and assist them in procuring such employments as may be pursued with the least danger of temptations to evil. Here, too, we shall have occasion to exercise much tenderness and forbearance, knowing that industrious habits are formed with difficulty by all Heathen nations. We ought also to remember, that these persons have

made no common sacrifices, in renouncing their connections, their homes, their former situations and means of support, and that it will be very difficult for them to procure employment with Heathen masters. In these circumstances, if we do not sympathise with them in their temporal losses for Christ, we shall be guilty of great cruelty,

As we consider it our duty to honour the civil magistrate, and in every state and country to render him the readiest obedience, whether we be persecuted or protected, it becomes us to instruct our native brethren in the same principles. A sense of gratitude, too, presses this obligation upon us in a peculiar manner, in return for the liberal protection we have experienced. It is equally our wisdom, and our duty also, to shew to the civil power, that it has nothing to fear from the progress of missions, since a real follower of Christ must resist the example of his great Master, and all the precepts the Bible contains on this subject, before he can become disloyal. Converted Heathens, being brought over to the religion of their Christian governors, if duly instructed, are much more likely to love them, and be united to them, than subjects of a different religion.

To bear the faults of our native brethren, so as to reprove them with tenderness, and set them right in the necessity of a holy conversation, is a very necessary duty. We should remember the gross darkness in which they were so lately involved, having never had any just and adequate ideas of the evil of sin, or its consequences. We should also recollect, how backward human nature is in forming spiritual ideas, and entering upon a holy self-denying conversation. We ought, not therefore, even after many falls, to give up and cast away a relapsed convert, while he manifests the least inclination to be washed from his filthiness.

In walking before native converts, much care and circumspection are absolutely necessary. The falls of Christians in Europe have not such a fatal tendency as they must have in

this country, because there the word of God always commands more attention than the conduct of the most exalted Christian. But here those around us, in consequence of their little knowledge of the Scriptures, must necessarily take our conduct as a specimen of what Christ looks for in his disciples. They know the Saviour and his doctrine chiefly as they shine forth in us.

In conversing with the wives of native converts, and leading them on in the ways of Christ, so that they may be an ornament to the Christian cause, and make known the gospel to the native women, we hope always to have the assistance of the females who have embarked with us in the mission. We see, that in primitive times the apostles were very much assisted in their great work by several pious females. The great value of female help may easily be appreciated, if we consider how much the Asiatic women are shut up from the men; and especially from men of another cast. It behoves us, therefore, to afford to our European sisters all possible assistance in acquiring the language, that they may, in every way which Providence may open to them, become instrumental in promoting the salvation of the millions of native women, who are in a great measure excluded from all opportunities of hearing the word from the mouths of European missionaries. A European sister may do much for the cause in this respect, by promoting the holiness, and stirring up the zeal, of the female native converts.

A real missionary becomes, in a sense, a father to his people. If he feel all the anxiety and tender solicitude of a father—all that delight in their welfare and company, that a father does in the midst of his children—they will feel all that freedom with and confidence in him which he can desire. He will be wholly unable to lead them on in a regular and happy manner, unless they can be induced to open their minds to him, unless a sincere and mutual esteem subsists on both sides.

VIII. Another part of our work is, the forming our native

brethren to usefulness, fostering every kind of genius, and cherishing every gift and grace in them. In this respect we can scarcely be too lavish of our attention of their improvement. It is only by means of native preachers that we can hope for the universal spread of the gospel throughout this immense continent. Europeans are too few, and their subsistence costs too much, for us ever to hope that they can possibly be the instruments of the universal diffusion of the word amongst so many millions of souls, spread over such a large portion of the habitable globe. The incapability of bearing the intense heat of the climate in perpetual itinerancies, the heavy expenses of their journies, not to say any thing of the prejudices of the natives against the very presence of Europeans, and the great difficulty of becoming fluent in their languages, render it absolute duty to cherish native gifts, and to send forth as many native preachers as possible. If the practice of confining the ministry of the word to a single individual in a church be once established amongst us, we despair of the gospel's ever making much progress in India by our means. Let us, therefore, use every gift, and continually urge on our native brethren to press upon their countrymen the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

Still further to strengthen the cause of Christ in this country, and as far as in our power to give it a permanent establishment, even when the efforts of Europeans may fail, we think it our duty, as soon as possible, to advise the native brethren who may be formed into separate churches, to choose their pastors and deacons from amongst their own countrymen, that the word may be statedly preached, and the ordinances of Christ administered in each church by the native minister, as much as possible, without the interference of the missionary of the district, who will constantly superintend their affairs, give them advice in cases of order and discipline, and correct any errors into which they may fall; and who, joying and beholding their order, and the

steadfastness of their faith in Christ, may meet his efforts continually to the planting of new churches in other places, and to the spread of the gospel in his district to the utmost of his power. By this means the unity of the missionary character will be preserved, all the missionaries will still form one body, each one moveable as the good of the cause may require. The different native churches will also naturally learn to care and provide for their ministers, for their church expenses, the raising places of worship, &c.; and the whole administration will assume a native aspect; by which means the inhabitants will more readily identify the cause as belonging to their own nation, and their prejudices at falling into the hands of Europeans will entirely vanish. It may be hoped, too, that the pastors of these churches, and the members in general, will feel a new energy in attempting to spread the gospel, when they shall thus freely enjoy its privileges among themselves.

Under the divine blessing, if, in the course of a few years, a number of native churches be thus established, from them the word of God may sound out even to the extremities of India; and numbers of preachers being raised up and sent forth, may form a body of native missionaries, inured to the climate, acquainted with the customs, language, modes of speech, and reasoning of the inhabitants; able to become perfectly familiar with them, to enter their houses, to live upon their food, to sleep with them, or under a tree; and who may travel from one end of the country to the other almost without any expense. These churches will be in no immediate danger of falling into errors or disorders, because the whole of their affairs will be constantly superintended by a European missionary. The advantages of this plan are so evident, that to carry it into complete effect ought to be our continued concern. That we may discharge the important obligations of watching over these infant churches, when formed, and of urging them to maintain a steady discipline—to hold forth the clear and cheering light of evangelical truth

in this region and shadow of death—and to walk in all respects as those who have been called out of darkness into marvellous light, we should go continually to the Source of all grace and strength; for if, to become the shepherd of one church be a most solemn and weighty charge, what must it be to watch over a number of churches just raised from a state of Heathenism, and placed at a distance from each other?

We have thought it our duty not to change the names of native converts, observing from scripture that the apostles did not change those of the first Christians turned from Heathenism, as the names Epaphroditus, Phebe, Fortunatus, Sylvanus, Apollos, Hermes, Junia, Narcissus, &c. prove. Almost all these names are derived from those of Heathen gods. We think the great object which divine Providence has in view, in causing the gospel to be promulgated in the world, is not the changing of the names, the dress, the food, and the innocent usages of mankind, but to produce a moral and divine change in the hearts and conduct of men. It would not be right to perpetuate the names of Heathen gods amongst Christians; neither is it necessary, or prudent, to give a new name to every man after his conversion, as hereby the economy of families, neighbourhoods, &c. would be needlessly disturbed. In other respects, we think it our duty to lead our brethren by example, by mild persuasion, and by opening and illuminating their minds in a gradual way, rather than use authoritative means. By this they learn to see the evil of a custom, and then to despise and forsake it; whereas, in cases in which force is used, though they may leave off that which is wrong while in our presence, yet, not having seen the evil of it, they are in danger of using hypocrisy, and of doing that out of our presence which they dare not do in it.

IX. It becomes us, too, to labour with all our might in forwarding translations of the sacred scriptures in the languages of Hindostan. The help which God has afforded us already in this work, is a loud call to us to go forward. So

far, therefore, as God has qualified us to learn those languages which are necessary, we consider it our bounden duty to apply with unwearied assiduity in acquiring them. We consider the publication of the divine word throughout India, as an object which we ought never to give up till accomplished, looking to the Fountain of all knowledge and strength, to qualify us for this great work, and to carry us through it, to the praise of his holy name.

It becomes us to use all assiduity in explaining and distributing the divine word on all occasions, and by every means in our power to excite the attention and reverence of the natives towards it, as the foundation of eternal truth, and the message of salvation to men. It is our duty also to distribute, as extensively as possible, the different religious tracts which are published. Considering how much the general diffusion of the knowledge of Christ depends upon a liberal and constant distribution of the word, and of these tracts, all over the country, we should keep this continually in mind, and watch all opportunities of putting even single tracts into the hands of those persons with whom we occasionally meet. We should endeavour to ascertain where large assemblies of the natives are to be found, that we may attend upon them, and gladden whole villages at once with the tidings of salvation.

The establishment of native free schools is also an object highly important to the future conquests of the gospel. Of this very pleasing and interesting part of our missionary labours we should endeavour not to be unmindful. As opportunities are afforded, it becomes us to establish, visit, and encourage these institutions, and to recommend the establishment of them to other Europeans. The progress of divine light is gradual, both as it respects individuals and nations. Whatever, therefore, tends to increase the body of holy light in these dark regions, is "as bread cast upon the waters, to be seen after many days." In many ways the progress of providential events is preparing the Hindoos for

casting their idols to the moles and the bats, and for becoming a part of the chosen generation, the royal priesthood, the holy nation. Some parts of missionary labours very properly tend to the present conversion of the Heathen, and others to the ushering in the glorious period, "when a nation shall be born at once." Of the latter kind are native free schools.

X. That which, as a means, is to fit us for the discharge of these laborious and unutterably important labours, is the being instant in prayer, and the cultivation of personal religion. Let us ever have in remembrance the examples of those who have been most eminent in the work of God. Let us often look at Brainerd in the woods of America, pouring out his very soul before God for the perishing Heathen, without whose salvation nothing could make him happy. Prayer, secret, fervent, believing prayer, lies at the root of all personal godliness. A competent knowledge of the languages current where a missionary lives, a mild and winning temper, and a heart given up to God in closet religion; these are the attainments which, more than all knowledge or all other gifts, will fit us to become the instruments of God in the great work of human redemption. Let us, then, ever be united in prayer at stated seasons, whatever distance may separate us; and let each one of us lay it upon his heart, that we will seek to be fervent in spirit, wrestling with God, till he famish these idols, and cause the Heathen to experience the blessedness that is in Christ.

Finally, Let us give ourselves up unreservedly to this glorious cause. Let us never think that our time, our gifts, our strength, our families, are our own. Let us sanctify them all to God and his cause. Oh! that he may sanctify us for his work. Let us forever shut out the idea of laying up a cowry for ourselves or our children. If we give up the resolution which was formed on the subject of private trade when we first united at Serampore, the mission is from that hour a lost cause. A worldly spirit, quarrels, and every evil work will succeed, the moment it is admitted that each bro-

ther may do something on his own account. Woe to that man who shall ever make the smallest movement toward such a measure! Let us continually watch against a worldly spirit, and cultivate a Christian indifference towards every indulgence. Rather let us bear hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, and endeavour to learn in every state to be content.

If in this way we are enabled to glorify God with our bodies and spirits, which are his, our wants will be his care. No private family ever enjoyed a greater portion of happiness, even in the most prosperous gale of worldly prosperity, than we have done since we resolved to have all things in common, and that no one should pursue business for his own exclusive advantage. If we are enabled to persevere in the same principle, we may hope, that multitudes of converted souls will have reason to bless God to all eternity for sending his gospel into this country."*

Such were the Form of Agreement into which the missionaries entered with regard to the conduct of their labours among the Heathen. With respect to the last circumstance to which they advert, their resolution on the subject of private trade, we may add, as a proof of its importance, as well as of their disinterestedness, that, during the first five years of their residence at Serampore, their whole expenditure was not less than 13,000*l.*; but of that sum they received from England, in money, goods, &c. no more than 5740*l.* : 17 : 7; and even this was not sunk, being vested in the premises belonging to the mission. Upwards of 7000*l.* must, therefore, have been obtained in India; and most of this, we believe, was raised by the labours of the missionaries themselves. Large, however, as this sum must appear, it is small in comparison of what they have contributed since that period. Of late, we are informed, they have added at the rate of at least 3000*l.* a year to the fund for missionary purposes,

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 198—211.

entirely the fruit of their own exertions. The profits of the printing press, under the superintendence of Mr. Ward, the produce of a boarding school for the children of European gentlemen, kept by Mr. and Mrs. Marshman, and the salary of Dr. Carey, as professor in the college of fort William, are the principal sources from which these large sums are drawn. It is also proper to add, that Mr. Fernandez, besides other valuable gifs, has appropriated 10,000 rupees to the mission, and wished the missionaries to accept of this sum immediately; but this they declined, and agreed to take for the present only the interest of it, allowing the capital still to remain in his own hands.*

The number of the natives who came to Serampore, inquiring concerning the gospel, had now greatly increased. In the course of this year, about thirty of them were received into the church, besides several Europeans, and of these no fewer than ten were baptized in one day. Seven or eight of them appeared to have been chiefly impressed by the reading of a New Testament and some small tracts, left in their village about four years before, though till lately they were unknown to the missionaries; a circumstance which affords ground to hope, that some may be converted, by these or other means, who may never be heard of till they are seen before the throne, in heaven. Among these villagers was a man of the name of Juggernaut, who had formely been a byragee, and lived entirely on the gains of his imaginary holiness. He had once visited the celebrated temple of Juggernaut, in Orissa, the grand resort of pilgrims, from all quarters of Hindostan. The lord of the district, by way of respect, clasped him round the neck, and seated him by his side in the public assembly. He also offered him land, if he would take up his residence there; but Juggernaut replied, that without Gonga water, it was impossible for him to live. Yet to the heart of this devotee of Gonga, the gospel appear-

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 24, 228.

ed now to have made its way. Just at the time Mr. Ward was distributing tracts and talking in the village, he was about to set off on a new pilgrimage to Juggernaut's pagoda; but the boat happening to go without him, he obtained two or three of the papers, and by some means he afterwards got the New Testament, which was left for the use of the village, and which, at length, was nearly worn out by reading. He now hung up his god, on a tree by the side of his house, destroyed his Juggernaut's chariot, and threw his byragee books into the river. It is even said, that being short of fuel, one day soon after his baptism, he, by the advice of his wife, took down the image from the tree, and having cleaved it in two, dressed his dinner with the one half of it.*

In March 1806, the missionaries issued proposals for publishing the Holy Scriptures, in no fewer than fifteen of the Oriental languages, namely, the Sungskrit, the Bengalee, the Hindostanee, the Persic, the Mahratta, the Guzurattee, the Orissa, the Kurnata, the Telinga, the Burman, the Assam, the Bootan, the Tibet, the Malay and the Chinese. Three or four years before, they had begun to translate them into the Hindostanee and the Persic, intending to say nothing of their design, until the New Testament at least should be completed. Having met, however, with unexpected success in this undertaking, they extended the plan; and it was not long before they formed the magnificent idea of translating and printing the Holy Scriptures in the principal languages of the East. Such a mighty undertaking attended with so many difficulties, and requiring such immense labour, would effectually have frightened persons of ordinary minds; but they were not men who were to be deterred by circumstances of that description; and there were even various considerations, which encouraged them to entertain sanguine hopes of final success. They possessed a critical knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek originals; they had,

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iii. p. 325, 186, 192, 117, 181.

perhaps, one of the best libraries of critical works, on the Holy Scriptures, and of the ancient and modern versions of them, that were to be found in the Eastern world. They had been employed for a considerable time, in the work of translating, and had, in some degree, formed those habits which were requisite for that kind of labour. They were in a situation where they could obtain the assistance of learned natives, from most of the different countries, whom the college of fort William had collected to that grand emporium of Oriental literature. Besides, as they advanced with the work, they found it was rendered comparatively easy, by the close relation which subsisted between most of the Oriental languages. The Sungskrit is the parent of the Bengalee, the Mahratta, the Orissa, the Telinga, the Kurnata, the Guzurattee, and also of the Malabar or Tamul; and hence a knowledge of it, enables a man to acquire any of these, with the greatest facility, especially after he has learned one or two of them. It will generally, indeed, furnish him with the meaning of four words in five of the languages derived from it; and the grammar of one, gives him a general idea of the idiom of the others. The Orissa, for instance, though possessing a distinct grammar and character, is so like the Bengalee, both in the words and the construction, that a Bengalee pundit is almost qualified to correct an Orissa proof sheet. The first time that Mr. Marshman read a page of Guzurattee, the meaning of it was so obvious, that he had no occasion to ask his teacher any questions respecting it. The following Table will exhibit a more particular view of the proportion of words known to the missionaries, in several of these languages, in consequence of their previous acquaintance with Sungskrit and Bengalee:

Mahratta, - - - -	About nine words in ten.
Orissa, - - - -	
Guzurattee, - - -	About six words in seven.

Telinga, - - - -	}	About three words in four.*
Kurnata, - - - -		

Three of these versions, the Bengalee, the Hindostanee, and the Sungskrit, Dr. Carey wrote with his own hand. Most of the others were made, in the first instance, by learned natives, and Brahmins, Mussulmen, and others, who besides translating, were employed to write out the rough copies. In this work, they were materially assisted, by Dr. Carey's translation into Sungskrit, which rendered versions into the other Oriental languages comparatively easy, and ensured, in some degree, their correctness, as every pundit understands the Sungskrit, and can readily make from it a good translation into his own vernacular tongue. But though the missionaries employed learned natives, in making most of the versions, in the first instance, they themselves also acquired the languages, and obtained, in some measure, a critical acquaintance with them, in order that they might be able to revise and correct them. In no instance, did they ever proceed to print any translation, until every word, and every mode of construction, had been carefully examined by themselves, and the whole compared with the Greek and Hebrew originals.†‡

Of the translation into the Chinese language, it may not be uninteresting to take some more particular notice, on account of the peculiar magnitude and importance of the undertaking. Dr. Carey had scarcely arrived in India, when

* Missionary Magazine, vol. ix. p. 380. Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 456, 536; vol. iii. p. 327. Memoir relative to the Translations of the Sacred Scriptures, addressed to the Baptist Missionary Society, p. 8.

† Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 491; vol. iv. p. 517.

‡ Some slight alterations appear to have been afterwards made on this plan. Dr. Carey, for instance, instead of writing the Sungskrit translation with his own hand, dictated it to an amanuensis, and the rough copy of the Hindostanee was written by one of the pundits. It also appears, that the revisal of the translation, by the missionaries, was chiefly performed as the sheets went through the press. *Period. Accounts*, vol. iv. p. 518.

he turned his attention to the vast empire of China, which is said to contain no fewer than three hundred and thirty-three millions of inhabitans, exclusive of Tartary and the tributary provinces. Even at that early period, he resolved to devote his third son to the study of the Chinese language, but as the youth died soon after, this plan was, of course, frustrated.* Now, however, the missionaries at Serampore had obtained, in the person of Mr. John Lassar, a man who was qualified in no ordinary degree to assist them in acquiring the Chinese language, and to help them in translating into it the Holy Scriptures. Having been born at Macao, of Armenian parents, he had imbibed the colloquial dialect of China, from his earliest years; but as he had a peculiar turn for the language, he was eager to obtain a more perfect acquaintance with it, and accordingly, at an age the best adapted for improvement, he was sent to Canton, where he enjoyed the liberty of mixing freely with the inhabitants, a privilege from which foreigners, confined to the precincts of their own factories, are completely excluded. Here he was placed under the tuition of two masters, one for the vulgar Chinese, the other for the Mandarine dialect. His first teacher was a man of learning, but a true Chinese, compelling him to commit to memory a vast number of characters, and leaving him to divine the meaning of them. The second was quite of a different stamp; an enthusiast in learning himself, he delighted to impart it to his ardent pupil, who, by having committed to memory so great a number of characters, was happily prepared to make rapid and extensive progress. Such, indeed, was young Lassar's thirst for knowledge, that he did not confine himself to the usual hours of study, but devoted part of the night to the pleasing pursuit. Under the tuition of this teacher, he finished nearly forty volumes, committing a great part of them to memory, in the Chinese manner; after which he was able to pursue

* Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 60, 119.

his studies alone, being now fully able to avail himself of those excellent dictionaries which have been formed of that language.*

About the age of twenty-three, he turned his attention to mercantile pursuits, and came to Bengal with a large cargo of teas; but providence designing him for other employment, frowned on this his first attempt. The quantity of tea imported into Calcutta was so great that season, as to occasion a fall in the price, which created such a loss to our young merchant, that he was not only discouraged, but embarrassed in his circumstances. This, however, was the means of introducing him to the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, one of the chaplains of the East India Company, and the Rev. Mr. Brown, who had for some time past been anxious to promote a translation of the sacred writings into the Chinese language. Having engaged him for this purpose, they proposed that he should reside at Serampore, on condition that one of the missionaries, and at least three of the youths, should engage in the study of the Chinese language. This offer was accordingly accepted by Mr. Marshman; and he was joined in the pursuit by two of his own children, and a son of Dr. Carey's.†

In this young man, Mr. Marshman and his fellow pupils enjoyed a most able and assiduous tutor. His vigorous natural powers, his eminence as a Chinese scholar, his unwearied diligence, his decision of character, all united to place him far above the ordinary rank of Oriental tutors. "When I have seen him," says Mr. Marshman, "sit nearly three hours at once, calling over, perhaps, for thirty days successively, the same words and phrases, and noticing, with the utmost nicety, and no small severity, variations in the sound, which I was not capable of observing, I have been surprised, and have said to myself, What can induce this man to persist in a course of labour, from which I myself

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 461.

† Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 462. Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 10.

shrink back, who have been for so many years engaged in the work of teaching, and am urged to faithfulness and diligence by the voice of conscience, and the desire of promoting the cause of Christ? If he were to save himself this trouble who would know it? Who could detect his unfaithfulness? What a contrast do this man's diligence and decision form to the sloth and flexibility of every other Asiatic teacher I have yet been under?"*

Besides this able teacher they possessed, even at an early period of their progress, a very valuable collection of Chinese books, to the amount of nearly three hundred volumes, including, among others, two editions of the works of Confucius, one containing the simple text, the other the text, with addition of a commentary. But a more valuable acquisition still, were three different Chinese dictionaries: one in four duodecimo volumes, said to be in most general use throughout that empire; a second, in fourteen volumes; and a third, the Imperial Dictionary, in thirty-two volumes, compiled by command of the celebrated emperor Kanghi. This is reckoned the standard dictionary in China, and is said to contain every Chinese character, both ancient and modern.† To this library, it is probable, the missionaries will have made considerable additions since that period.

With such valuable helps, Mr. Marshman and his fellow pupils made rapid and unexpected progress in Chinese literature. In studying the language, they found not those numerous, and almost insuperable difficulties, which were generally supposed to attend it. Mr. Marshman has even discovered, or at least illustrated in a clearer manner than any preceding writer, the existence of a species of alphabet in the Chinese language, which materially facilitates the acquisition of it. Indeed he states it as his firm conviction, that though totally different in its structure, it is little less

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 463.

† Memoir relative to the Translations, p. 14.

regular in its formation, and scarcely more difficult of acquisition, than the Sungskrit, the Greek, or even the Latin language.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Lassar began the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese language, and as he was an Armenian Christian; he translated from the version of that church. Part of this work was printed off; but it seems to have been intended rather as a class-book for the use of English students in the Chinese language, than for the use of the inhabitants of that empire; for each verse was printed in English in columns of one or two lines, from the top to the bottom of the page, and the Chinese was printed, in the usual manner, in corresponding columns.* This version, however, so far as it proceeded, was afterwards revised; a new edition of the whole was begun, we suppose in simple Chinese; and Mr. Marshman having now succeeded in some degree in acquiring the language, undertook a similar superintendence of the work, as was exercised over the other translations; only that here a still greater degree of care seems to be employed to render it correct and faithful. After the version is made by Mr. Lassar, Mr. Marshman, with Griesbach's New Testament before him, goes over the corrected copy, sentence by sentence, along with him, and then he reads slowly to him the English from the Greek of Griesbach, that he may judge of the meaning and spirit of the whole, by seeing it in its connection. When a portion of it is prepared in this manner, two copies are taken of it, one of which Mr. Lassar carries home with him, that he may review it when alone, judge of the Chinese idiom, and avail himself of any idea arising from his acquaintance with the Armenian version. The other Mr. Marshman examines in company with another learned Chinese, whom they have taken into their employ, causing him to read it, and give his idea of the meaning of every sentence and every character:

* Buchanan's Memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment in India, p. 154.

and as this person had previously no acquaintance with the Bible, nor with the translation, Mr. Marshman had an opportunity of marking the slighest deviations from the original, and of canvassing such passages again with Mr. Lassar. When this process is finished, a double page is set up in Chinese types, which is perhaps the work of half an hour; a few copies are then thrown off, and one given to Mr. Lassar, the Chinese assistants, and to each of the youths who are studying the language, that they may peruse it, and make their observations upon it. When none of them are able to suggest any further improvement, the sheet is printed off. Such is the method which they have now adopted in carrying on the Chinese translation.*

At Serampore, the Baptist missionaries enjoyed not only the utmost facilities for translating, but for printing the Holy Scriptures in the Oriental languages. Just at the time when they began to need it, a letter foundery was erected at Calcutta; a circumstance which may be regarded as a singular interposition of Providence in their behalf. No such manufactory had ever existed before in the country, yet without it, it scarcely seems probable the Scriptures could have been printed in the native languages. Specimens of the Bengalee character were sent to England, in order to have a fount of types cast in London; but for persons, however ingenious, who were ignorant of the language, to execute them with accuracy, and especially to keep a press constantly at work, at the distance of fifteen thousand miles, would have been extremely difficult, if not even impracticable. Happily, however, the ingenious Dr. Wilkins had led the way in this department, and under the greatest disadvantages, with respect to both materials and workmen, had, by persevering industry, brought the Bengalee to a high degree of perfection. Soon after the missionaries settled at Serampore, the very artist whom he had employed in that work, and who had in a great measure imbibed his ideas, was pro-

* Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 35; vol. v. p. 39.

videntially brought to them. By his assistance they erected a letter foundery of their own, and though he has since died, yet he had so fully communicated the art to a number of others, that the native workmen now carry forward the operation of type founding, and even of cutting the matrices, with a degree of beauty and accuracy, as would not disgrace a European artist. They have now cast founts in the Bengalee; the Deva-Nagree, which has more than 800 letters and combinations; the Orissa, which consists of about 300 characters; the Telinga, containing near 1200 separate forms; the Mahratta, the Tamul, the Shikh, the Cingalese, and the Burman languages; and they were preparing others in the Malay-alim and the Cashmire, which would enable them to print the Scriptures in most of the languages of India. The small expense at which they were able to cast founts of types in the Oriental languages, was such as they themselves had no idea of, till they were convinced of it by accounts from England. They had written home for a fount of types in the Telinga character, together with the matrices; but by the answer they received, they found, that what would have cost seven hundred pounds sterling in England, they could execute within their own precincts for less than two hundred pounds! In preparing blocks for the Chinese, the missionaries were no less successful. They at first employed for this purpose, some of the natives of Bengal, who had been accustomed for many years to cut the patterns of flowers used in printing cottons; and they found them succeed beyond expectation, the delicate workmanship required in that occupation qualifying them extremely well for engraving the stronger lines of the Chinese character. By the suggestion, however, of one of the youths engaged in studying the Chinese language, they have now adopted the method of printing with moveable metal types; by which means, there is reason to believe, they will be able to equal, or even to excel the Chinese themselves in beauty of printing, while the expense will be reduced almost beyond be-

lief. The types requisite to print both the Old and New Testament, will scarcely amount to 400*l.* sterling. In an edition of 10,000 copies, (and the types will admit of 50,000 being thrown off,) the expense of merely printing a quantity of letter press, equal to the English New Testament, will be less than one penny per copy sterling! Besides, with cheapness and beauty, this improvement unites that great *desideratum* in Chinese printing, the facility of correcting the version to any extent whatever, and even with greater ease than in the Roman character.*

To crown the whole, the missionaries have of late erected a paper mill at Serampore, and have already introduced considerable improvements in the manufacture of that important article. The materials from which it is made grow in such abundance in Bengal, as to enable the natives to afford it at one-third of the price of English paper; but their mode of manufacturing it is so imperfect, that the books made of it invariably fall a prey to worms and insects in the space of five or six years. The missionaries, however, have introduced such improvements into their manufactory, that the paper made by them has remained untouched by worms, when placed for a considerable length of time among paper half devoured by them. Having secured this grand object, they hope, in due time, to make such further improvements as will be of material importance, as to the cheapness, the colour, and the quality of the paper.†

Such is a general view of the rise, the progress, and the success of that grand and noble plan which the Baptist missionaries formed of translating the Holy Scriptures into the principal languages of the East. We shall now return, and resume the thread of our history.

Besides translating the Scriptures into the languages of

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iii. Preface; vol. iv. p. 55, 56, 372, 376. Memoir relative to Translations, p. 18. Report British and Foreign Bible Society, 1813, App. p. 87, 89. Letter from Mr. Marshman to Dr. Ryland, Jan. 21, 1810, MSS. p. 12.

† Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 220, 376.

the East, the missionaries were anxious to call forth the native Christians to exert themselves for the conversion of their unbelieving countrymen. Hitherto, indeed, they had in various ways derived much important assistance from their efforts, and in fact these had been the chief immediate means of the increase of the church. But now the missionaries designed to employ them on a more regular and a more extended scale. Besides wishing to interest, as far as possible, the whole native church in the salvation of their countrymen, they formed a plan of itinerancy, resolving to select such of the converts as appeared best qualified, and to send them out two and two together; one of whom should be a man of ability, age, and steadiness, the other a younger brother, who would thus be in a useful practical school, preparatory for future labours. They accordingly nominated, at this time, thirteen or fourteen of the native Christians to this employment; besides whom, there were several others who still resided at Serampore, and who embraced opportunities on the Lord's day of making known the gospel among their countrymen*

Scarcely, however, had this plan been adopted, when an event occurred which threatened the interruption, if not even the subversion, of the whole mission. About a fortnight after, Messrs. James Chater and W. Robinson, two new missionaries, arrived at Calcutta; but on presenting themselves at the police-office, some demur was made as to their being permitted to proceed to Serampore. On Dr. Carey's going to the office, he was informed by one of the magistrates, that they had the following message to him from sir George Barlow, the governor-general: "That as government did not interfere with the prejudices of the natives, it was his request that Mr. Carey and his colleagues would not." This request, as explained by the magistrates, amounted to this, "They were not to preach to the natives, nor to suffer the native converts to preach; they were not to distribute religious tracts,

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 262.

nor suffer their people to distribute them; they were not to send forth the converts, nor to take any step, by conversation or otherwise, for persuading the natives to embrace Christianity." Some of these restrictions, however, were softened in a subsequent conversation between the magistrates and a friend of the missionaries. "It was not meant," they said, "to prohibit Mr. Carey or his brethren from preaching at Serampore, or in their own house at Calcutta, only they must not preach in the Loll Bazar in that city. It was not intended to prevent their circulating the Scriptures, but merely the tracts abusing the Hindoo religion; and that there was no design to prohibit the native converts from conversing with their countrymen on the subject of Christianity, only they must not go out under the sanction of the missionaries." This interference on the part of the British government was no doubt occasioned by the alarm which had been excited in the country by the mutiny of Vellore, intelligence of which had just reached Calcutta; but yet it was never insinuated, as indeed, it could not be, that the labours of the Baptist missionaries had, in the most distant manner, contributed to that melancholy event. On the contrary, the magistrates frankly acknowledged, that "they were well satisfied with their character and deportment, and that no complaint had ever been lodged against them." But notwithstanding this, an order of council was passed, commanding Messrs. Chater and Robinson to return to Europe, and refusing captain Wickes, who brought them out, a clearance for his vessel, unless he took them back with him. These two missionaries, however, had in the meanwhile joined their brethren at Serampore, where they were under the protection and patronage of the crown of Denmark; and in consequence of the representations that were made to the British government, they were permitted to remain in the country, and the captain was furnished with the papers necessary for his departure.*

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 276.

In this state matters remained for a considerable time, when a new circumstance occurred, which filled the friends of the mission with deep concern, and furnished its adversaries with a momentary triumph. A tract, which had been printed in Bengalee, and which, in that language, contained nothing offensive, was translated by one of the natives into Persic, and, through the pressure of business, was inadvertently printed, without being first inspected by the missionaries. It happened, unfortunately, that the translator had introduced into this version several strong epithets, styling Mahommed a tyrant, &c. which it was alleged would irritate his followers; and though no such affect had been produced, yet a copy of it being conveyed to a person in office under government, the affair was taken up in a serious manner. Dr. Carey was sent for; but, being unacquainted with the circumstances of the case, he could only acknowledge the impropriety of the epithets, and promise to inquire into the cause of their appearance. But before he had time to make this inquiry, proceedings were commenced, which had they been carried into execution, must have been followed by the ruin of the mission. In consequence, however, of an explanation, and a respectful memorial to lord Minto, who was now the governor-general, the most serious part of the proceedings was formally revoked. On this occasion, two of the missionaries waited on his lordship, to thank him for the candour with which he had attended to their memorial. To which he replied, that nothing more was necessary than a mere examination of the subject, upon which every thing had appeared in a clear and favourable light. But as all the printed tracts had passed under examination, and as two others, besides the one in Persic, were objected to, the missionaries were required in future, not to print any tracts, without first submitting a copy of them to the inspection of government.*

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iii. p. 392.

When the British government first interfered with their labours, and began to subject them to restraints in Bengal, the missionaries were induced to turn their attention to other parts of the East. They had long before, indeed, formed the design of establishing new stations in different quarters of the country; but except at Dinagepore and Cutwa, they had hitherto made no attempts of that kind. The opposition, however, which was now raised to their labours in Bengal, again turned their attention to the same important object; and thus a circumstance, which at first threatened the interests, and even the existence of the mission, may ultimately be the mean of promoting its extension and success.* The quarter to which the missionaries first directed their attention was the Burman empire.

In January 1807, Messrs. Mardon and Chater set sail from Calcutta, and after a voyage of eighteen days arrived at Rangoon, the principal port in that kingdom, with the view of making such inquiries as were judged necessary, relative to the character, religion, and manners, of the Burmans, previous to the establishment of a mission among them. After remaining some weeks in the country, they returned to Serampore, and made a very favourable report of that people, and of the prospect of success among them. Mr. Mardon, however, declined the mission, choosing rather to remain in Bengal; but Mr. Chater, accompanied by Mr. Felix Carey, the eldest son of Dr. Carey, returned to Rangoon a few months after, and on their arrival met with a very friendly reception, not only from the English gentlemen in that city, but even from the Maywoon, or viceroy of that part of the empire.†

Soon after their arrival, Mr. Felix Carey, who had previously paid some attention to the study of medicine, introduced the cow-pox into the Burman empire. After inoculating a considerable number of persons in Rangoon, he was

* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 541; vol. iii. p. 285.
† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 329, 337, 341, 389, 421, 433.

sent for by the Maywoon himself, to perform the operation on his family. He accordingly proceeded to the palace, and agreeably to the custom of the country, took off his shoes at the outer steps, before he entered the inner apartment. He now approached the viceroy, as all the officers of government, and others who wait upon him, do, on his hands and knees, and sat down on a carpet near his interpreter. After making several inquiries concerning the cow-pox, the governor desired him to inoculate his family, which he accordingly did, vaccinating two women, three of his children, and four others. The Maywoon's lady at first opposed the measure; she came, however, and saw the operation, and seemed on the whole very well pleased with it. Mr. Carey's medical skill seems, afterwards, to have obtained him high reputation among the Burmans, and to have given him considerable influence in the country. On one occasion, he was even sent for to court, to attend the young prince, the heir of the throne; but after proceeding a short way on his journey, he received intelligence of the death of the youth, and of course returned.*

In beginning the study of the language, the missionaries lost no time; and with this view placed themselves under the tuition of a man whom they understood to be qualified in no ordinary degree for instructing them; but in this they appear to have been misinformed, for upwards of two years after, Mr. Chater says, that until of late, they had not been able to obtain a teacher of any considerable learning. They had then, however, procured as distinguished a scholar, it was said, as could be found in the country. He understood not only the vulgar language of the Burmans, but the Maguda or learned language, which appears to be only a dialect of the Sungskrit. While engaged in these studies, they obtained, among other works, a book consisting of scripture extracts, which they found very useful. It was translated by a Roman Catholic missionary, who, at that time, resided at

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 434. 454.

Ava, the ancient capital, and had been twenty-five years in the country.*

Having procured a piece of ground for the purpose, the missionaries erected a house for themselves, a work in which they were kindly assisted by the Europeans resident in the country. It was without the town, and by this means escaped destruction when Ummerapoora the capital, and the whole of Rangoon, were sometime afterward, burnt to the ground, it was supposed by some incendiaries, as the most violent discontents then prevailed throughout the empire, on account of a war which had broken out with the Siamese. But though the house of the missionaries had escaped the general conflagration, yet the people were so desperate, and seemed so determined to burn the few houses that remained, that they were obliged for some time to keep a regular watch every night, for the safety of themselves and their habitation.†

Soon after the burning of Rangoon, a new viceroy was sent to that city; and on his arrival he shewed the missionaries no less kindness than his predecessor. One day, as Mr. Carey was riding out to visit his patients, he saw a man suspended on a cross, a mode of punishment common in the Burman empire. Moved with compassion for his sufferings, and understanding that his offence was but of a trivial nature, he repaired immediately to the Maywoon's palace, and as he was in the habit of visiting one of his female relations who was then ill, he had access to all the private apartments. The viceroy, indeed, had given orders, that no person should be admitted into his presence, in order that he might not be importuned, in behalf of the criminal, as he was determined to punish him. To enter, was therefore attended with no small danger, and might have cost our young missionary his head. He ventured, however; presented his petition, and,

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 475, 532; vol. iv. p. 32, 37, 172, 373.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 133.

according to the Burman custom, insisted on its being granted before he left the place. The Maywoon refused his request several times, but at last offered to grant it, provided he would promise never again to intercede in behalf of a criminal. This Mr. Carey refused. He then made him promise to accompany him to Ava, when he should have occasion to go thither. An order was now given for the release of the culprit, but it had yet to go through all the forms of office. When Mr. Carey at last obtained it from the secretary, he hastened with it to the cross; but on his arrival not one of the officers would read it, without a reward. In vain did he remonstrate; in vain did he threaten them. He was obliged at length to offer them a piece of cloth, to induce them to perform this common act of humanity. The poor wretch was then taken down, and had just strength enough to express his gratitude to Mr. Carey. He had been nailed to the cross about three in the afternoon, and it was now between nine and ten at night, so that he had already been hanging in torture for near seven hours; but yet he afterwards recovered his health. Mr. Carey, it was supposed, was the only person in Rangoon, who would have succeeded with the Maywoon in such a request; and, as might naturally be expected, his conduct on this occasion, gained him high renown among the Burmans. The fellow, however, afterwards turned out a bad man: he was again detected in theft, and taken into custody. The agonies of a cross it seems were insufficient to reclaim him.*

The missionaries have, as yet, made little progress with regard to the main object of their residence in the Burman empire, the introduction of the gospel into it. They have never, indeed, been properly settled in the country, owing partly to the confusions which have prevailed, almost ever since their arrival, and partly to the ill state of health of their own families, which has obliged them to make frequent voyages to Bengal. Mr. Chater has been at last obliged to

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iv. p. 174, 259.

leave Rangoon, the climate agreed so extremely ill with his wife. Mr. Felix Carey* now remains alone at that place. He is preparing materials for a Maguda grammar and dictionary, and has made so successful a commencement, in the study of that language, as promises fair to produce, at length, a version of the sacred scriptures into it, equal in precision to the Sungskrit. The translation of the New Testament into the vulgar Burman is going forward, and a large volume of Scripture Extracts has already been printed in that language.†

Goamalty.—In February 1808, Mr. Mardon, accompanied by two or three families of the native converts, was sent to Goamalty, a place near Malda, the country in that neighbourhood having lately sustained a severe loss in the death of Mr. William Grant, and Mr. Creighton, two pious gentlemen in that quarter, who, for some years past, had been endeavouring, in a silent manner, to pave the way for the diffusion of Christian knowledge among the natives, particularly by erecting and supporting schools for the education of the youth.‡§ Before they left Serampore, the following, among

† Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 402, 373. ‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 418, 443.

* Information from different sources has been communicated to the Board, that Mr. Felix Carey has seceded from the professed work of a Missionary in Burmah, and directed his views to medical and political pursuits. Let no man of God be discouraged on this account. Such secession may be expected while Missionaries are men of like passions with ourselves. It requires the faith of a Moses to contemn the charms of a palace. Possibly the recedure may be only a transient one. Should it even continue, we are not warranted to suppose Mr. Carey an enemy.—*See Second Annual Report of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States, p.* 61.

§ In Bengal, a very small proportion of the people are taught to read. The country contains innumerable villages, inhabited chiefly by farmers, labourers, and mechanics, who, with the watermen and fishermen that line the lakes and rivers, form the great body of the people; yet of these scarcely one can make use of a book. All the women, without exception, whatever be their rank and character, are excluded from this privilege by immemorial custom, a barrier stronger than law. This small degree of learning is almost entirely confined to the Brahmins and the Writer cast, and even of these there are vast numbers who are quite illiterate. To remedy this evil, and by extending the art of read-

other, excellent instructions were addressed to them by their brethren, and exhibit an interesting picture of that spirit of gentleness and love which reigns among the Baptist missionaries, and which should ever characterize the servants of Christ:

"You will first form yourselves into a church, and enter upon the duties of your church state. Having thus prepared the garden, you will look around you for plants to fill it. Yet here you will see nothing but a wilderness; and though it may be dark and gloomy, and you may be discouraged every time you enter it, yet you must venture among the thick bushes, and endeavour to gather such shrubs as may bring forth fruit to the glory of God. Though wild by nature, the transplanting them into the garden of God, will, through the care and skill of the Great Vine-Dresser, change their nature, and cause them to bring forth such fruit as shall rejoice the heart of God and man.

"Be not content with preaching merely. Draw the natives to you; mingle with them; become their servant to win them; try to gain their affections; shew them that you can actually become their brother, and that though they may be hated of all men for Christ's sake, yet that you will never be ashamed of them, nor forsake them. Who would, humanly speaking, lose cast to be disowned, and slighted, and kept at a distance? Let the natives see that the friendship they loose in the world, will be amply made up in the bosom of the church, and especially in the nursing care of its pastor. Never forget, dear brother, that your ministry is a "winning of souls." It is love alone that can dissolve the chains of the cast; it is the

ing among the Hindoos, to open up to them the treasures of moral and religious knowledge, these two excellent men established a number of schools in their neighbourhood, under the care of native teachers. Mr. Grant at his death left a legacy of twenty thousand rupees to the mission; ten thousand for the translations; and ten thousand for the support of an evangelical ministry in the church at Calcutta, of which the Rev. Mr. Brown was the pastor. *Period. Accounts*, vol. iii. p. 446. Brief Narrative, p. 82.

love of Christ alone, in dying for sinners, that has accomplished whatever has already been done in the conversion of Hindoos: and there is no hope but in a ministry that shall be like that of the great Head of the church, whose love was stronger than death.

"When you perceive that the word has in any measure taken effect in any heart, adhere closely to such a person; take him aside, and pour out to him the treasures of the gospel; pray with him alone, and endeavour to excite in him a cordial surrender of himself to Christ. Young plants, exposed to so much heat, and to so many storms as they are in this country, have need to be nourished with peculiar tenderness.

"You will watch over the native itinerants with constant care; promote their growth in divine knowledge, and their experience of the power of religion on their hearts. Treat them with peculiar notice, as persons who have lost all for Christ. Preserve, at the same time, firmness of character and order, in all your intercourse with them. Urge them, by every scripture argument, to a diligent discharge of the duties incumbent upon them, as persons separated to the gospel of Christ, and excite them to an incessant pressing of the gospel upon the attention of their countrymen, whom they daily meet with, either at home or abroad."*

Such were the instructions that were addressed to Mr. Mardon, previous to his departure to Goamalty; but as yet the settlement in that quarter has been attended with little success. It was not long, indeed, before he had the pleasure of baptizing three of the natives, together, with an Englishman of the name of Johnson. His labours, however, were much interrupted by indisposition; and we regret to add, that of late his wife, two of his children, and himself, have all died within five months of each other. Previous to his death, Mr. De Cruz, one of the converts, who was pre-

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 489.

viously a Portuguese Catholic, was sent to his assistance. The natives in this part of the country being very solicitous for schools, several have been established, which are superintended by Mr. De Cruz, who also preaches with much acceptance. The schools are increasing rapidly, and many of the children read the Holy Scriptures fluently.*

Bootan.—In April 1808, Mr. Robinson accompanied by Mr. William Carey, one of Dr. Carey's sons, set out on an exploratory mission to Bootan, and on their arrival in that country, they met with a friendly reception from the inhabitants. For a considerable time, however, various circumstances, particularly personal and family distress, prevented Mr. Robinson from settling in that country; even when he returned, new occurrences took place, which interrupted his residence; and the mission was at length given up, in consequence of the following melancholy event.† In January 1811, Mr. Robinson, accompanied by a young man and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Cornish, both members of the Baptist church, arrived at Barbaree, a place in the neighbourhood of Bootan, where he had erected a temporary habitation, and where they intended to stop till they could obtain an opportunity of settling in that country. But only three or four nights after their arrival, the watchman awoke Mr. Cornish, about twelve o'clock, and told him that he had observed a man about the premises, who he thought, was of a suspicious appearance. On receiving this information, Mr. Cornish rose, and apprehending that there was only a single thief, fired his gun, and again lay down to rest. Just, however, as he was falling asleep, he was roused by a band of fifty or sixty robbers, armed with spears, attacking the house. Having still no idea of their number, he aimed a blow at one of the ruffians, with the butt end of his gun, when instantly two spears were pointed at him from the windows, by which

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 547, 482, 484, 527; vol. v. p. 68, 78, 89, 70, 80, 91.
† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 466, 517.

he was slightly wounded in the side. Meanwhile, Mr. Robinson, whose room was still unmolested, put on a few clothes, and not knowing the number of the robbers, nor how they were armed, thought of resisting them. He passed them in the dark, and went into the pantry, from whence he took a knife. The robbers, at that instant, set fire to some straw for the sake of light; and observing the knife in his hand, two of them struck at him with their spears. Perceiving by this time, that resistance was vain, he opened the back door, and went to the room of Mr. and Mrs. Cornish, hoping to get them out at the windows. "Come away," said he, or we shall all be murdered." "Oh! Mr. Robinson, my poor child," cried Mrs. Cornish, "do take it." He took the child, and Mr. Cornish, Mrs. Cornish, and an aged female servant, followed them. Mrs. Cornish ran towards the stable; and in following her, they found the cook lying on the ground. Thinking he might be asleep, they shook him, but he answered with a deep hollow groan. They now made the best of their way over the ditch which surrounded the premises, into the field; and having wandered to a place about a mile distant, sat down on the cold ground, with scarcely any clothing. Even here, however, their fears were not at an end; the shaking of a leaf made them tremble. To increase their apprehensions, Mr. Cornish's little boy was so cold, it was with much difficulty he could be kept from crying, which might have discovered the place of their retreat to the robbers, had they passed in that direction.*

As soon as the morning dawned, they returned to their habitation, where they beheld a most heart-rending scene. A few yards from the back door lay the cook, murdered; and at a little distance from the front door, the house-keeper. The washerman also was severely wounded, and afterwards died of his wounds. Books, papers, boxes, and other articles lay on the outside of the house, stained with blood;

* Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 266, 269.

within, all was confusion and destruction. The utensils capable of being broken, were dashed to pieces; the books were thrown in heaps, or scattered about the house; and the clothes, except a very few articles, which the robbers had probably dropped in their hurry, were all carried away. The loss, in property of different kinds, was supposed to amount to two thousand rupees, or two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.*

Terrible, however, as was the disaster, it was not unmingled with mercy. Mr. Cornish had a little apprentice girl named Janetta, who, on the first alarm, ran out of the bed-room into the pantry; but the robbers coming into that place, and seeing her, exclaimed, "Here is one of the Sahib's people." One of them searched her breast for money, but finding none, he was about to kill her, upon which, holding up her hands to another of the ruffians, she said, "I am but a poor little girl; do not kill me." The fellow answered, "If you will shew us where the money is, you shall not be hurt. She accordingly directed them to the two bed-rooms, into which they all rushed, when she embraced the opportunity of escaping at the back door, and concealed herself in the store-room. It is also worthy of notice, that Mr. Robinson and his companions, in proceeding from the house, were directed, without any knowledge or design on their part, in the right path. In that corner of the garden where the stable was, there happened to be no gate-way, which there was at every other corner; and at each of these entrances some of the robbers were placed on guard, so that had they proceeded by any of them, they would, in all probability, have been murdered. Mr. Robinson, indeed, had no less than four wounds, one on his right knee, one on his left arm, one on his belly, and one on his breast; the last of them was the worst, and had not the spear struck against the bone, would probably proved fatal. The wound in Mr. Cornish's side, it is likely, would also have been mortal, had it not

* Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 268.

been for a similar circumstance. In this distressed situation, they set off for Dinagepore, where they arrived after a journey of three days, and were most kindly received by their friends in that city, who vied with each in supplying their wants, and endeavouring to alleviate their distress.* Soon after this terrible disaster at Barbaree, Mr. Robinson once more attempted to enter Bootan. He applied to the Katma of Bhotehaut, for a monshee to teach him the language, and for permission to ascend the hills. But as that officer first referred him to the Rajah, and afterwards wrote him a discouraging letter, the mission was, for the present, relinquished.†

Jessore.—After Mr. Marshman's visit to the Hindoo dissenters in Jessore, of which we have already taken notice,‡ some of the other missionaries went to see them, and several of these people also came on various occasions to Serampore. A school was erected among them; and on the Sabbath they assembled together for divine worship; one of them prayed, and explained the gospel to the others; but singular as this may seem, there was little appearance of any real disposition among them to embrace Christianity, for though they talked fairly, their conduct was far from being agreeable to their professions.§ About the end of 1806, three of these persons from Luckphool, who had long professed to believe the gospel, but declined making a public profession of it, came on a visit to Serampore. In conversing with one of them named Sookur Bishess, the missionaries warned him of the danger of temporizing in the manner he had hitherto done, telling him, that "If he was ashamed of Christ before men, Christ would be ashamed of him before his Father and before his angels." He declared, that "He thought there was no way to heaven except by Christ, and that if he thought himself near death, he would make an open profession of his name." The missionaries

* Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 268, 270. † Ibid. vol. iv. p. 406.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 372, 397, 451; vol. iii. p. 53.

‡ See Page 190.

reminded him of the uncertainty of life, and entreated him to consider whether his refusal publicly to profess Christianity, did not proceed from his regarding sin in his heart, and from fearing men more than God. Little did they think that he should prove so awful an instance of the truth of these observations. Only six days after his return, he was murdered in his own village by a band of robbers. It seems he had, though unknown to the missionaries, carried on a criminal correspondence with a woman, some of whose relations belonged to a gang of thieves, who infested that quarter of the country, and almost set the magistrates at defiance.* These people had long been determined to take revenge on him, and having heard that he had returned from Serampore, they imagined he must there have obtained a sum of money, a report which had been circulated, in many instances, with the view of scandalizing the gospel, though nothing could be more contrary to truth.† Thinking this a favourable opportunity for accomplishing their design, they one night beset the house where he and the woman were, and after bringing them out bound, set their habitation on fire, and threatened to throw him into the flames, unless he would discover to them the money they supposed he had concealed. Hoping, probably, to make his escape, he led them to a tree at some distance, and told them to dig beneath it. After digging some time in vain, one of them enraged at his conduct, pierced him through with his spear, and shed out his bowels, another wounded him across the breast, and a third cut off his head. Thus perished this poor unhappy

* Mr. Mardon, speaking of these robbers, mentions a story of one of them, who, on his trial for murder, was asked by the magistrate, "How many men he had killed in his lifetime?" To which the fellow impudently replied, "Ask a fisherman how many fish he has caught in his lifetime!" *Period. Accounts*, vol. iii. p. 320.

† One day a man came to Serampore from Culna, as he had heard that the missionaries gave a thousand rupees and a mistress to every one who lost cast! Reports of the same kind were received from other quarters. *Period. Accounts*, vol. ii. p. 353, 484.

man, who had for several years possessed sufficient light to discern the falsehood of Mahommedanism and the excellency of Christianity, but yet was held fast by the cords of iniquity to his own destruction.*

But though none of this sect appear to have embraced the gospel, there was a number of persons from the district of Jessore, who were baptized at Serampore. These, on account of their distance from that place, were early formed into a distinct church, and were visited monthly by one of the native itinerants, who preached the gospel, and administered the Lord's Supper among them. At length in October 1808, Carapeit Chator Aratoon, an Armenian Christian, who had joined the church at Serampore, was sent into that part of the country, in order to take a more immediate oversight of the native converts, who were scattered through different villages, as well as to preach the gospel among the other inhabitants. Here he appears to have laboured with unwearied diligence, and it is said with great success. The church in Jessore consisted of four different branches, about thirty miles distant from each other, the whole comprehending an extent of country little less than a hundred miles in diameter. Partly to relieve the poor members from travelling, partly to extend the gospel more widely, he went this circuit every month, preaching and administering the Lord's Supper at one of the branches on the Sabbath, and then in the course of the week proceeding to the next. The number of persons whom he baptized was very considerable; but we cannot help expressing our fears, lest he, as well as some others, particularly of those raised up in India, should admit the natives to baptism on too slight evidences of their Christianity. Carapeit, however, has lately been removed to a different part of the country, and has been succeeded by another of the converts.†

Digah, near Patna.—About the end of 1809, Mr. Moore

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 319.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 348, 410, 540; vol. v. p. 105.

was sent to form a missionary settlement in the neighbourhood of Patna. He accordingly opened a school in that quarter, and a number of scholars attended it. Of late, the general aspect of things in this quarter has been considerably more encouraging than at first.*

Orissa.—In 1810, Mr. John Peter, an Armenian Christian, who had joined the church at Serampore, proceeded to Orissa, with the view of attempting a mission in that country. On his arrival at Balasore, he met with a very friendly reception from the European inhabitants of that town; and in the course of a short time, he baptized a number of the English soldiers. The natives were at first curious to learn the nature of his design; but after understanding something of the gospel, they seemed backward to hear further of it. The Holy Scriptures, however, have been freely distributed, and the gospel has been preached from Balasore to Cuttack, a distance of more than one hundred miles. The Scriptures have obtained admission into the temple of Juggernaut itself, having been distributed among the principal persons belonging to that celebrated pagoda: A new Testament was given to one of the chief ministers of the idol. According to the last account, the church in this quarter consisted of upwards of thirty members.†

Agra.—In January 1811, Mr. Chamberlaine, who had for several years laboured at Cutwa with considerable success, set off, accompanied by Mr. Peacock, a young man who had lately joined the church, for Agra, one of the principal cities of Hindostan. The journey of the Ganges was about a thousand miles, in the course of which they distributed many hundred tracts, and made known the gospel to multitudes of the natives, who had never before heard of the name of Christ. On their arrival at Agra, they preached in English to the soldiers in a private house in the fort, and the word was apparently useful to several of them; but, after a

* Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 415; vol. v. p. 163.
† Ibid. vol.. p. 92; vol. v. p. 118, 119.

short time, this was stopped by a military order. They also discoursed with the natives in Hindostanee; but the language of this part of the country was materially different from that dialect, and was called the Hinduwee. Mr. Chamberlaine, whose domestic trials were already so numerous, had not been long in this quarter when he lost no less than three of his children; and he has since that time been obliged to leave this part of the country. Mr. Peacock, however, still remains in that city, and the missionaries at Serampore have sent one of their members, of the name of Macintosh, to assist him.*

Calcutta.—To these establishments of the missionaries we may add Calcutta, which has now become one of their most important spheres of labour, and the chief scene of their success. Since their arrival in India, they have been highly useful to many of the English inhabitants, several of them persons of considerable rank in life. Some of these were baptized by them; but a still greater number never embraced their views on the subject of baptism, and, of course do not appear in the list of their church members. It does not fall within my design particularly to notice instances of this kind, only it is not unworthy of remark, that the conversion of Europeans must, in various ways, prove a powerful mean of the further extension of Christianity among the natives. In Calcutta, especially, there has been a remarkable improvement in respect of religion, partly in consequence of the labours of the Baptist, and partly through the instrumentality of some Evangelical clergymen of the Church of England, who have been settled in that city. Some years ago, when the missionaries first met for prayer in that large and populous place, only three or four attended; and when they began to preach, there were seldom more than ten. Now, however, the number at a conference often amounted to forty, and at a sermon there were about a hundred and fifty, so that the room could scarcely contain them.

* Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 271, 416, 418, 468; vol. v. p. 131.

A large and spacious chapel, seventy feet square, including the portico, was therefore erected in that city; and though the expense was upwards of thirty thousand rupees, or about four thousand pounds sterling, the greater part of it was raised by private subscription. It was opened for divine worship on the first of January, 1809; and soon after, the members of the church began a charity school, which in a short time was attended by a considerable number of boys. A second school was afterwards instituted for girls, under the superintendence of a very pious woman. This institution met with considerable encouragement from the inhabitants of Calcutta, and was conducted on Dr. Bell's plan as improved by Mr. Lancaster. The number of children who attended these schools, according to the last accounts, was four hundred and twenty-five; namely, three hundred and eighteen boys, and one hundred and seven girls; and a school house has been erected near the chapel, which will contain eight hundred children. Indeed, though infidelity had now arrived at a terrible height in Calcutta, yet religion excited so much interest and attention, that it was the subject of conversation or of dispute in almost every family: a circumstance which we hope will be attended with good effects.*

But the progress of the gospel in Calcutta was by no means confined to the European inhabitants. Kristno, the first of the converts, was now fixed as a preacher in this city, and was particularly useful among his own countrymen. His whole soul was in the work, and his amiable upright conduct commanded the esteem of many who loved not his religion. Besides preaching to the debtors in the jail, and to the thieves in the house of correction, he made known the gospel in a great number of private families, which he visited for this purpose every week. He spared no labour; he shunned no fatigue, but flew like a seraph wherever duty called him. Sebukram, another of the converts, was also a very zealous

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iii. p. 407; vol. iv. p. 327, 349, 366; vol. v. p. 151.

and active labourer in Calcutta. He often preached nearly from morning till night among his poor benighted countrymen. There were no less than twelve or fourteen places where he dispensed the word every week, and at some of them he had considerable congregations. Besides preaching at the chapel in Loll Bazar, the missionaries held meetings in the fort, which were usually attended by not less than a hundred, chiefly of the military and their wives, many of whom were native women, and appeared to embrace the gospel. Here, however, they have met with considerable opposition. Their meetings have been repeatedly interrupted, and of late they have been entirely prohibited; but it appears that the native preachers are still permitted to visit the fort.*

Such is a brief view of the several stations which the Baptist missionaries have established in India. Besides these, indeed, they have of late sent missionaries to Patna, to Bombay, to Columbo in the island of Ceylon, and to Chittagong, a place in the east of Bengal, near the borders of the Burman empire; and it appears that some other stations were in contemplation.†

To this account, it may not be improper to add a list of the numbers baptized in the different years, since the commencement of the mission, distinguishing the natives from the Europeans, Armenians, Portuguese, &c. most of whom we suppose, were previously professed Christians:

* Periodical Accounts, vol. iii. p. 553; vol. iv. p. 218, 238, 323, 353, 234, 331, 335, 361.

† Ibid. vol. v. p. 173.

Years.	*Natives.*	*Europeans, &c.*	*Total.*
——	—	1	1
1795	—	1	1
1800	1	1	2
1801	5	1	6
1802	7	2	9
1803	13	1	14
1804	14	1	15
1805	29	4	33
1806	24	1	25
1807	9	11	20
1808	7	13	20
1809	30	50	80
1810	—	—	105
1811	—	—	95
Total	- - - -	- - - - - - - -	426†

Among the baptized, were a number of Brahmins, and others of the higher casts. Some have died in the faith; some have been excluded on account of impropriety in their behaviour, though most of these have been again restored; and some, we regret to add, have relapsed into Paganism, and that, in some instances, not long after their baptism. But yet the greater part of them adhere steadfastly to their Christian profession, and though it cannot be denied they have many imperfections, yet their character has been materially improved by the gospel, and is in many respects ornamental to it.‡

With regard to the progress which the missionaries have made in translating the Holy Scriptures into the languages of the East, the following Table will exhibit a view of the several versions in August 1811:

† Brief Narrative, p. 92. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 367.

‡ Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p 468, et passim.

LANGUAGES.	NEW TESTAMENT.	OLD TESTAMENT.
Sungskrit,	Printed.	Pentateuch printed; historical books in the press, andtranslated to 1st of Kings.
Bengalee,	Third edition printed.	The whole distributing; 2d edition of the Pentateuch in press.
Orissa,	Printed and distributing.	The Hagiographa, & prophetic books, printed; historical books in the press.
Hindostanee,	Printed and distributing.	All translated, except a book or two of the Pentateuch.
Mahratta,	Printed and distributing.	Pentateuch and Hagiographa translated; Pentateuch in press; Genesis printed.
Chinese,	All translated, two first gospels printed; the others at press.	Pentateuch translated to the 4th of Numbers.
Shikh,	All translated, printed to Mark.	Pentateuch translating, Numbers in hand.
Telinga,	All translated, at press.	Pentateuch translated.
Kurnata,	At press.	Pentateuch translated to Deuteronomy.
Guzzerattee,	All translated.	
Burman,	Matthew & Mark preparing for the press.	
Cashmire,	Mark translating.	
Magnda,	Commencing.	*

* Rep. Br. & For. Bib. Soc. 1812. App. p. 76. Period. Acc. vol. iv. p. 244.

Besides these versions made by the Baptist missionaries themselves, they have been employed to print large editions of the New Testament, in the Tamul, the Cingalese, and the Malayalim languages; and also an impression of the New Testament in Hindostanee, translated by Mahommed Ali, commonly called Mirza Fitrut, under the superintendence of the late Rev. Henry Martyn of Cawnpore, a clergyman of the Church of England; of the four gospels, translated from Greek into Persic, by the Rev. L. Sebastiani, who was many years resident at the court of Persia; and of the three first gospels in Telinga, by the late Rev. Augustus Desgranges, a missionary at Vizigapatnam. Through the skill and disinterestedness of the Baptist missionaries, the printing of books in the Oriental languages can be executed at Serampore, on much lower terms than at any press in India, or even in Europe.*

Besides the translations of the Scriptures, and a variety of tracts, both in English and in the eastern languages, some of which have passed through large and numerous editions, there have issued from the mission press at Serampore, many other works of a literary nature, which form a stupendous monument of the talents, the diligence, and the zeal of the missionaries, and which will be of essential service to their successors, in learning the languages, the principles, and the manners of the natives, and thus may be of important use in furthering the gospel in the East. The following is a list of the principal works of this description, which have been written or printed by them:

SUNGSKRIT.

A Grammar of the Sungskrit Language, by William Carey, D. D. 1168 pages, quarto, price eight guineas.

A Dictionary of the Sungskrit Language, by Umara Singha, with a Translation and Annotations, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. 150 pages, quarto.

* Report British and Foreign Bible Society, 1812, p. 12, 14. Appendix, p. 75.

Hitopudesha Dusha Koomara, and Bhurtri Huri, in the Sungskrit Character, with an introductory Discourse, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. 286 pages, quarto.

The Ramayuna, in the Sungskrit Character, with an English Translation and Notes, illustrative of the Poem, by William Carey, D. D. and Joshua Marshman, D. D. quarto, vols. 1, 2, 3, five guineas each.

The Moogdhubodha, octavo.

BENGALEE.

A Grammar of the Bengalee Language, for the use of the Students in the College of Fort William, by William Carey, D. D. second edition, octavo.

Colloquies, Bengalee and English, second edition, octavo.

Hitopudesha, or Salutary Counsels, second edition, octavo.

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MAHRATTA.

A Grammar of the Mahratta Language, for the use of the Students in the College of Fort William, by William Carey, D. D. octavo, second edition.

A Dictionary of the Mahratta Language.

CHINESE.

The Works of Confucius, containing the original Text, with a Translation, to which is prefixed a Dissertation on

the Chinese Language and Character, by Joshua Marshman, D. D. quarto, volume 1st. price five guineas.

ENGLISH.

Account of the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Hindoos, in four volumes quarto, by William Ward.

Ramayuna, Translated into English, with Explanatory Notes, octavo, volumes 1st and 2nd.*

In publishing some of these works, the missionaries were patronized by the Asiatic Society, and the college of Fort William, who, for several years past, have granted them an annual salary of 450*l.* to assist them in defraying the expense of printing the original text of the most ancient Sungskrit writings, particularly the Vedas, with an English translation of them.†

Such were the astonishing exertions of the Baptist missionaries, when an event occurred which retarded for some time their further progress. On the 11th of March 1812, about six o'clock in the evening, a fire was discovered in the printing office at Serampore, in a large range of shelves, containing English, Patna, and other paper. At the time it was perceived, there were only one or two servants remaining in the printing office. Mr. Ward, who was in an adjoining room, immediately ran to the spot where the fire was burning, and called for water to quench it; but the flames had already reached the middle of the shelves, and resisted all the efforts that could now be made by the people who were at hand. In a few minutes the office was so filled with smoke, that Mr. Ward was almost suffocated in endeavouring to get out, and one of the servants who was with him, actually fell down senseless before he could reach the door, and was saved from death only by being dragged into the

* Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 112. Missionary Magazine, vol. xi. 383.

† Religious Monitor, vol. iv. p. 277.

open air. All the window shutters, twenty-four in number, were fastened with iron bars, placed across, and pinned within, so that it was extremely difficult to force them open. They were advised, indeed, to keep all the doors and windows shut, in order, if possible, to smother the flames; but yet Mr. Ward ascended the roof, pierced it above the place where the fire was raging, and poured in water in great abundance. This plan so far succeeded, that four hours after the fire commenced, it was confined to the shelves beneath where it originally began, and even there it was greatly diminished. The quantity of water which was thrown in where it was practicable, was very great. In the adjoining press-room, the water was as high as the ankles, and the steam and smoke which filled the office were so thick, that a candle would not burn in it, even for a few seconds. The heat was so intense, that it was impossible for a person to remain a moment within the walls. Some, at this time, violently urged the opening of all the windows; but as it would have taken hours to do this, so as to get out the tables, frames for the cases, and other utensils, and as the opening of only one or two would have given fresh vigour to the flames, which were now languid and confined to the lower part of the office, and would even endanger the whole of the adjoining buildings, they objected to it. This, however, did not prevent some injudicious but well-meaning friends from breaking open one of the windows, opposite the fire, while Messrs. Marshman and Ward were busy in other places. In a few minutes, Mr. Marshman discerned through the cloud of steam and smoke, a flake of fire blown into the middle of the office. He instantly conveyed the alarming intelligence to Mr. Ward, who was superintending the pouring of water through the roof on the shelves. Mr. Ward now ran to the room at the entrance of the office, and the most remote from the fire, and by the active assistance of several European friends, cut open two windows, and dragged out his writing table, which contained the deeds of the premises, as well as

many other valuable writings; and going from thence to the opposite room, he cut open the windows there also, and dragged out the inclosed shelves, containing their accompts from the beginning of the mission. This last attempt was made in the very face of the fire, and before it was fully accomplished, the whole building, two hundred feet in length, by forty in breadth, was in flames. About midnight the roof fell in. Every exertion was made to prevent the flames from spreading to the adjoining buildings, and though some of them were not more than twelve feet from the office, yet happily they escaped the conflagration. The wind, which blew pretty hard an hour or two before, being now calm, the fire ascended in a straight line, like the flame of a candle on a table, and happily terminated with the printing office, without any life being lost, or any person materially injured. After it was evident that it would spread no further, all the members of the mission family, old and young, sat down in front of the office, and continued till near two in the morning, pouring their griefs into each other's bosom. But though the danger was now over, the fire continued burning among the ruins for nearly two days.*

The loss which the missionaries sustained by the fire was immense, whether we consider the nature or the value of the articles that were destroyed. To enumerate them would be endless, but we may mention among many others, the whole furniture of the printing office; founts of types in fifteen or sixteen different languages; all the cases, frames and other utensils which accompanied them; about fifteen hundred reams of paper; upwards of fifty-five thousand sheets printed off but not folded; a considerable number of books printed by them; and some other books, to the amount of five thousand rupees; manuscripts to the value of seven thousand rupees, among which were a Sungskrit dictionary, in five folio volumes; all the materials for a Polyglot dictionary,

* Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 497, 452.

of the languages derived from the Sungskrit, in collecting which, Dr. Carey had been employed for many years; part of a Bengalee dictionary; the whole of a Telinga grammar; part of a grammar of the Shikh language; three valuable manuscript copies of the text of the Ramayuna; and as much of the translation of that work as had cost Dr. Carey and Mr. Marshman a whole year to prepare for the press; part of the translation of the Scriptures in several languages; and the whole correspondence of the missionaries so far as it was preserved from the commencement of their labours. The building was estimated to be worth about eight-thousand rupees, and the whole loss amounted to at least sixty thousand, or 7500*l.* sterling, exclusive of the paper belonging to others.*

Such was the immense loss which the missionaries sustained by this terrible disaster; but yet in the midst of judgment, they had also to sing of mercy. Though the door which divided the press-room from the other part of the printing office was burnt, and the beams of the press-room scorched, yet such was the activity of the people in pulling out the presses, that they were all saved. A paper mill also, with the matrices, moulds, and apparatus for type-founding, were in a place adjoining the printing office, which the fire did not enter, and thus they were happily preserved. In clearing away the ruins, the missionaries, to their inexpressible joy, found uninjured among them, the steel punches of all the Oriental languages, to the amount of four thousand, to replace which, would have occasioned a delay of six years. About eight thousand pounds of metal were also dug out of the ruins, and thus they were enabled to begin immediately the re-casting of the types in the different languages.†

On the second day after the fire, the missionaries, with that energy and zeal for which they are so distinguished, set

* Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 465, 502, 518.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 465, 500.

the type-founders and pundits to work in a large building, which had been let for several years, and the keys of which had been given up only a few days before. The casting of types was resumed in a fortnight after the fire; and in the course of a few months, no fewer than eight of the versions were again in the press. As soon as the disaster was known in Britain, the most liberal contributions were made to repair the loss. The whole sum amounted to no less than 10,611*l.* : 1 : 11, which is said to have been raised in about seven or eight weeks after the news of the loss were received; a striking proof of the deep interest which the Christian public take in this important mission. A considerable sum was likewise raised in Bengal; and it appears that fifteen hundred pounds have lately been transmitted from America, for the same purpose; to which we may add, that a considerable quantity of paper was voted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to repair the loss of that valuable article. Besides proceeding with the versions in which they were formerly engaged, the missionaries have lately begun translations into several other dialects, namely, the Assam, the Affghan, the Nepalese, the Bilochee, the Maldivian, and the Brij Bhasha. Their progress, however, in actual translation, has not of late been very great, as they have been chiefly employed in revising the versions already made, and in completing elementary works in several of the Eastern languages.*

* Period Accounts, vol. iv. p. 466, 502, 517, 518, 533, 550; vol. v. p. 39, 61, 89. Report of the Edinburgh Bible Society, 1813, p. 4.

CHAPTER IX.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

SECTION I.

South Sea Islands.

IN September 1795, an institution was formed in London, on a large and respectable scale, for the propagation of the gospel among the Heathen, under the name of The Missionary Society. It consisted of Christians of various denominations, who came forward in this great cause with a unanimity and a zeal never before witnessed in modern ages. The flame kindled in the metropolis, quickly spread over the whole country; it extended even to the continent of Europe and the shores of America. The institution of the Missionary Society was every where hailed as a new era in the history of the Christian world.*

Scarcely was the Missionary Society instituted, when it turned its attention to the islands of the South Sea. The voyages of discovery made by order of his majesty George the Third, in the Pacific Ocean, had brought to light innumerable groups of islands before unknown; but as they afforded little to excite the ambition of princes, or the avarice of merchants, they were again sinking into oblivion, and were ready to be abandoned in that state of ignorance and

* Sermons preached at the Formation of the Missionary Society, Introduction, p. 3. Transactions of the Missionary Society, vol. i. Introduction, p. 14.

barbarism in which they were originally discovered.* Immediately, however, on the formation of the Missionary Society, the Rev. Dr. Haweis, rector of Aldwinkle, in Northamptonshire, delivered before them an interesting and animating memoir on the most eligible situation for the commencement of their operations; and in this discourse he drew the following enchanting picture of the islands of the Pacific Ocean:

"Of all the regions of the earth which are yet in Heathen darkness, the South Sea Islands appear to combine the greatest prospects of success, with the least difficulties to be necessarily surmounted.

The climate is sufficiently known. I am afraid to speak what is recorded concerning it, lest some should think I was painting a fairy land, a new garden of the Hesperides. Suffice it therefore to say, what is universally admitted, that the cold of winter is never known; the trees scarcely ever lose their leaves, and during the greater part of the year bear fruit: The heat, though a tropical country, is always alleviated by alternate breezes, whilst the natives sit under the shade of odoriferous groves, loaded with abundance of fruit: The sky is serene, the nights are beautiful, and the sea is ever offering inexhaustible stores of food, in easy and pleasing conveyance, and a prospect generally admired.

Diseases which ravage us are there unknown. We indeed have added fearfully to their number; yet health and longevity mark the inhabitants in general, without the knowledge of medicines or physicians. If the frozen regions of the north, or the sultry humid soil of Africa, be compared with these islands, the difference in respect of danger is immense, and a missionary's life abundantly more likely to be preserved in the one than in the other.

Dependent on climate is the facility of finding provision. How easily that can be obtained in these islands, you need

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. Introduction, p. 10.

only read the concurrent testimony of all who have written on the subject; and if they want our luxuries, the necessaries of life will not much engage a missionary's time or care. With the science he carries, and the arts he practises, there is little reason to doubt, that with a slight degree of attention, he will have enough and to spare. This circumstance is as advantageous for the work as for the missionaries themselves. The natives, not harassed by labour for their daily bread, nor worked as slaves under the lash of the whip, are always sure to have abundance of time for receiving instruction. We have not, as our Brethren the Moravians, to follow them into the lonely wilds of a desert in their hunting expeditions, or over the fields of ice in winter, few at best, and widely scattered. Here every man sitting under his cocoa or bread-fruit tree, is at hand; and the very sound of a hammer, a saw, or a smith's bellows, will hardly ever fail to attract an audience. Two hundred thousand inhabitants are reckoned on the small island of Otaheite alone; all ranged round its beautiful shores, and accessible by a thousand canoes, with a facility which no road could ever afford. I need not say the "multitude of the isles will be glad thereof." The amount of them hath never yet been ascertained. We have discovered many, but probably much greater numbers are still unknown, which spot the bosom of the Pacific Ocean on both sides of the line, from New South Wales to the coast of Peru. But I am only giving a sketch, not a history.

I hardly know how to mention the government, with which we are not, perhaps, perfectly acquainted. It seems monarchical, but of the mildest kind, with little authority; controuled, it appears, by powerful vassals, each supreme in his own district, but with no written law, nor the use of letters, and presents a sort of patriarchal state, where the disorders are so few, that the arm of authority is but seldom exerted. Here, so far from having any thing to fear, some have attempted, at the hazard of their lives, to obtain a re-

treat, by swimming naked from our ships; and some have determined to make it their home, by a conspiracy, brought on by no disgust or dislike to their captain or the service, but merely by the fascinations of beauty, and the allurements of the country.

In the uncivilized state in which the inhabitants of Otaheite and the neighbouring islands live, our superiority in knowledge, and what they will at first be more struck with, in the mechanic arts we bring, will probably gain us such respect, that without receiving a sacrifice as to the Eatoa, such as was offered to Cook, we shall enjoy sufficient importance with the highest as well as the lowest of the people; that we have more to apprehend from being caressed and exalted, than from being insulted and oppressed. It is a beautiful French proverb, the force of which will be felt in this case by every reflecting mind, "In the country of the blind, he who hath but one eye will be monarch."

With regard to their religious prejudices, no nation on earth, I believe, will be found without some traditionary traces of revelation: every guilty creature feels the necessity of an atonement in some shape or other. The South Sea Islanders, accordingly, have their victims and their gods. We are but little acquainted with them; but the little we do know, affords the strongest evidence that their priests, if there are such, are not invested with any persecuting power, nor can the people be averse to hear us on the subject of religion, since they reverence us as their superiors almost on every other. Indeed, the very slight information which we have obtained concerning the service of their morais, seem strongly to imply the doctrine of a future state of existence, and the necessity of pacifying, as well as pleasing, an offended God.

As to their language, I have a vocabulary formed of all the words dispersed through the voyages which have been published; and if I may judge from its vocal structure, it is of no difficult attainment. I am assured a corporal of ma-

rines, after three months stay on the island of Otaheite, spoke it fluently. If any Englishman be there; or on the adjacent islands, they must by this time be perfectly acquainted with it. Such may become our instructors or interpreters, and with a little application, I hope, our missionaries will need neither.

The vast extent of the same language is also an important article in our favour. Through the immense field of these scattered islands, the same language, with little variation, is spoken. At least, the radical part of it is so much the same, that Tupia, who sailed with Cook, and died at Batavia, was always able to converse with the natives of the different islands at which they touched; and I think it was said in one history, that the difference of dialects appeared no greater than what exists in the several counties of so small a country as England.

I shall suggest only one advantage more, among a multitude that might be named: We shall here have no false Christianity to oppose its life and spirit; none of those disputes which, even among real Christians, tend greatly to obstruct the work of God. We have a field wholly uncultivated, but the soil is fit for seed, and the climate genial; and coming first, we have every thing in our favour, and may, without dispute or opposition, inculcate the true knowledge of God our Saviour. From the king on the throne, to the infant of a year old, I should not be surprised to see our schools thronged, and our worship attended. We know that he only who made the heart can renew it. We are sure that the residue of the Spirit is with him; and he hath promised to be "with us alway, even unto the end of the world." With such divine encouragement, What may we not hope for?"*

Dazzled by this pleasing but imaginary picture, the Missionary Society resolved, without farther delay, to commence its operations by a mission to the South Sea Islands. With

* Sermons at the Formation of the Missionary Society, p. 168.

this view they began to raise subscriptions, which poured in upon them from every quarter of the country; to examine and select missionaries, who came forward with alacrity and zeal to offer their services; and to make preparations for their distant voyage, and their settlement in the places of their destination. These, and innumerable other circumstances, which it is needless to notice, required no small degree of exertion; but every difficulty vanished before the energy and zeal of the Missionary Society.*

In August 1796, twenty-nine missionaries, several of whom had wives and children, embarked at London on board the Duff, a vessel purchased by the society, and commanded by captain James Wilson, a gentleman who for several years past had retired from sea, but who cheerfully came forward with an offer of his services on this interesting occasion. They were detained about a month at Portsmouth, waiting on the convoy; but they at length finally sailed from England in the month of September; and after an agreeable passage of about seven weeks, arrived at Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil.† Here they laid in such stores as were deemed necessary, and then proceeded on their voyage, designing to go round by Cape Horn; but they now met with such violent contrary gales, that the captain judged it expedient to desist from the attempt, and to take the eastern passage, though it extended the remaining part of the voyage from six to twelve thousand miles. But as the wind was favourable, they sailed forward for seven weeks together, without any material obstruction, at the rate of a hundred and eighty, two hundred, and sometimes of two hundred and fifty miles, in twenty-four hours. When they came near the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope, they encountered indeed, a most awful and tremendous storm. The waves rolled mountain high, while the water in the gulph between them was as smooth as a peaceful lake. Now they

* A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, 1796, 1797, 1798, p. 3.

† Ibid. p. 5, 8, 18.

mounted up to heaven: immediately they went down into the deep. When they sunk into the gulf between the billows, the swell of the sea was so enormous, that the wind blew over their heads, and the sails, though very lofty, were completely becalmed. Then, as they rose on the following wave, it blew such a hurricane as almost to carry away their masts. In this manner they were driven along for four successive days; but though the gale was so tremendous, they were preserved in safety by Him "who holdeth the winds in his fists, and treadeth on the waves of the sea."*

As they approached near the end of the voyage, the missionaries began to make some arrangements for their settlement in the different islands. Most of them made choice of Otaheite as the scene of their future labours; some of Tongataboo, one of the Friendly islands; and two of St. Christina, one of the Marquesas.† Of these missions, we shall now proceed to give some account, beginning with that to Otaheite.

ARTICLE I.

OTAHEITE.‡

IN March 1797, the Duff, after a voyage of between five and six months, reached Otaheite, with the whole body of missionaries on board. On their arrival, they were welcomed

* An Authentic Narrative of four years residence at Tongataboo, p. 37. Missionary Voyage; p. 39, 43.

† Missionary Voyage, p. 53.

‡ This island was discovered by captain Wallis, in the Dolphin, on the 19th of June, 1767. It is situate between the 17th degree 28 minutes, and the 17th degree 53 minutes south latitude, and between the 149th degree 11 minutes, and the 149th degree 39 minutes west longitude. It consists of two peninsulas, of a somewhat circular form, joined by an isthmus, and is surrounded by a reef of coral rocks, which

both by the chiefs and the people with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The natives came on board the ship with the utmost ease and frankness; and when captain Wilson, accompanied by several of the missionaries, prepared to land, numbers of them came flying along the beach to meet them; and as the boat approached, they ran into the sea, drew it as far as they were able, and then placing the strangers on their shoulders, carried them on shore. Every day they came to the ship in their canoes, laden with cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and roasted pigs. Each of the principal men was eager to have one of the missionaries for his Tayo or friend, which is a sacred temporary engagement, customary

form several excellent bays and harbours, where there is room and depth of water for almost any number of the largest ships. The face of the country is very extraordinary; for a border of low land almost entirely surrounds each peninsula, and behind this border the land rises in ridges that run up into the middle of these divisions, and these form mountains that may be seen at sixty leagues distance. The soil, except upon the very tops of the ridges, is remarkably rich and fertile, watered by a great number of rivulets, and covered with fruit-trees of various kinds, forming the most delightful groves. The border of low land that lies between the ridges and the sea is in few places more than a mile and a half broad; and this, together with some of the vallies, are the only parts that are inhabited. Captain Wallis made some stay at this island; and it was afterwards visited again by captain Cook, in the Endeavour, in April, 1769. That commander was accompanied by sir Joseph Banks, and Dr. Solander; and these gentlemen, together with the captain, made a very accurate survey of the island.

Some parts of the island of Otaheite are very populous; and captain Cook was of opinion, that the number of inhabitants on the whole island amounted to 204,000, including women and children. They are of a clear olive complexion, the men are tall, strong, well-limbed, and finely shaped; the women are of an inferior size, but handsome.

The inhabitants of Otaheite believe in one supreme Deity, but at the same time acknowledge a variety of subordinate deities; they offer up their prayers without the use of Idols, and believe the existence of the soul in a separate state, where there are two situations, of different degrees of happiness. Among these people a subordination is established, which somewhat resembles the early state of the European nations under the feudal system. If a general attack happens to be made upon the island, every district is obliged to furnish its proportion of soldiers for the common defence. Their weapons are slings, which they use with great dexterity, and clubs of about six or seven feet long, and made of a hard heavy wood. They have a great number of boats, many of which are constructed for warlike operations.—*Guthrie's Geography*, vol. ii. p. 554, 555, 556.

in all the South Sea Islands, made and ratified by an exchange of names between the parties. The Tayo supplies his visitor with cocoa-nuts, and every kind of provisions during his stay; and he expects in return some small presents of nails, beads, or similar articles, and at parting a gift of a hatchet, or some other useful piece of hardware, with which he thinks himself richly rewarded for all his attentions. On the whole, indeed, the chiefs and the people seemed to vie with each other who should shew their visitors the most kindness and respect.*†

* Miss. Voyage, p. 56. Authen. Nar. p. 50, 52.

† How different were the sensations of the Otaheitans at the appearance of the Duff on their shores, from what they were thirty yeare before, when they were visited by the Dolphin! This island, it is supposed, was originally discovered by Quiros, a Spanish navigator in 1606; but the knowledge of it was entirely lost in Europe, until it was again discovered by Captain Wallis, in 1767. The following account of the sensations of the natives, on that occasion, which Mr. Cover, one of the missionaries, appears to have collected from themselves, is so natural, and yet so interesting, that, though rather foreign to our subject, we cannot forbear introducing it in this place. When captain Wallis approached the island in the Dolphin, the Otaheitans were struck with astonishment at the extraordinary appearance of the ship, and formed various conjectures respecting it. Some supposed it was a floating island, an idea which seemed generally to prevail, being strengthened by a tradition which they have among them, that the smaller peninsula was originally driven from its situation in some distant part of the ocean, by a tremendous gale of wind, and striking against the east end of Otaheite, occasioned a violent concussion of the island, and then coalesced with it. But, on the nearer approach of the vessel, they were induced to alter this opinion, and could not account for such a strange appearance, which now filled them not only with astonishment but alarm. When the ship came to anchor in Matavai bay, and they discovered men on board of her, their apprehensions subsided a little, and judging them to be enemies, they instantly collected their canoes together, and determined to attack them without delay. With this view they surrounded the vessel, armed with spears, clubs, and stones, and perceiving that the men on board had no such weapons in their hands, thought they should obtain an easy conquest, and commenced a violent assault with stones. The captain, who no doubt observed their hostile intentions, was prepared to receive them, and, in return for their shower of stones, fired his great guns at them. The sudden explosion struck them with terror and amazement: they instantly fled in all directions, crying, "The God is come! The God is come!" pouring, as they imagined, thunder and lightning upon them. Having escaped to the mountains,

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, captain Wilson, two or three days after their arrival, informed the king, through the medium of an interpreter, of the design of the voyage. He told him that he had brought with him a number of good men, who had left their own country, and come to Otaheite solely with the view of being useful to him and his people, by instructing them in the best and most excellent things; that, on their part, they required only the grant of a piece of land stocked with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and so large as to contain a garden, and to admit of houses being erected upon it; that they should be allowed to live free and unmolested on the island; and should, on no account, be required to intermeddle in their wars, nor to employ their arms, unless in self defence. Captain Wilson added, that if he consented to these proposals, they would immediately land and settle in the country; if not, they would go to some other island. Great pains were taken to make every thing plain to his majesty; but it is doubtful whether he understood one half. He said, indeed, they might take what land they pleased; and, about a week after, the district of Matavai, with a large house upon it, was ceded to them in due form.*

* Missionary Voyage, p. 63, 73, 76.

they waited with terror and anxiety the result of this strange and unexpected visit. With the view probably of shewing them the destructive power of his cannon, and to deter them from again attacking the ship, captain Wallis discharged several guns loaded with bar and chain shot, which made such terrible havock among the bread-fruit trees, that the Otaheitans concluded the country would soon be laid desolate. Panic struck, and conscious of their inability to resist beings who had the command, or were under the protection of such a powerful god, who emitted fire upon them with such loud and manifest tokens of his displeasure, they deemed it necessary to appease his anger, and that of the people who came with him. They accordingly despatched an embassador with the usual emblems of peace, a pig and a plantain leaf. These being accepted by captain Wallis, a friendly intercourse commenced between him and the natives; and though their opinion of the ship was now corrected, their astonishment at her bulk and construction was increased, and the dread of the destructive weapons she carried not in the least abated.—*Theological Magazine and Review*, vol. ii. p. 488.

Matters being thus arranged, the following missionaries now landed, and took up their residence upon the island: the Rev. John Jefferson, John Eyre, Thomas Lewis, James F. Cover, Messrs. J. A. Gilham, surgeon, Benjamin Broomhall, William Henry, Samuel Clode, Henry Bicknell, Peter Hodges, Henry Nott, Rowland Hassel, John Cock, Edward Main, Francis Oakes, James Puckey, William Puckey, and William Smith, who, with 5 women and 2 children, made in all 25 persons.* The house assigned for their use was said to have been built by Pomare, for captain Bligh, of the ship Bounty, whom he expected to return and settle on the island. It was a large spacious building, of an oblong figure, a hundred and eight feet in length, and forty eight in breadth. The roof was supported by numerous wooden pillars, some eighteen, some nine feet high, beautifully thatched with entwined leaves of the palm tree; and the whole was sheltered on every side by screens of Bamboo. On taking possession of it, the first thing the missionaries did, was to enclose it completely with a thick bamboo rail, in order to prevent the natives crowding too much upon them. The several apartments were next planned, and partitions of smaller bamboo begun; but owing to the great distance which the natives had to go for the materials, the work proceeded but slowly, though one man stripped his own house in order to supply them. In the arrangement which was made, the apartments of the missionaries were all at one end, and to prevent disputes, were chosen by lot; next to them were marked out the store-room, the library, and a place for the surgeon and his medicines; the remaining space was left for a chapel, which communicated with the outer door.†

† Missionary Voyage, p. 60, 65.

* Mr. Gilham, the surgeon, returned with the ship, being disgusted with the ungenerous conduct of his brethren toward him; *(Authentic Narrative;)* but as Mr. Harris came back from the Marquesas islands, and settled in Otaheite, the original number was kept up.—*Missionary Voyage*, p. 179.

The missionaries had not been many days on the island, when they attempted to address the Otaheitans on the subject of religion, employing as their interpreters one or two Europeans, who had resided among them for several years. The people listened to them with great attention; and, in general, professed to be mightily pleased with what they heard, acknowledging it was "all very good." Mawroa, the husband of Pomare's sister, even declared, he was resolved to throw away the gods that could neither see, nor hear, nor speak, and worship the English God. Manne Manne, indeed, the aged high priest, remarked, "that the missionaries gave them plenty of the word of God, but very few axes, knives, or scissors;" though this was not true, for they distributed articles of that description among them in great abundance.* They also made some attempts to check the atrocities of the Arreoies, a society in Otaheite who murder every infant born among them. One of the Arreoies having come to visit them, together with his wife, then big with child, the missionaries embraced this opportunity of remonstrating with them against the murder of their offspring; and even offered to build a house for the reception of pregnant women, and to take the children under their care as soon as they were born. The mother appeared to feel the workings of nature in her breast, and seemed willing to spare the infant; but the brutal chief was obstinately bent on its destruction. He acknowledged, indeed, that it was a bloody act; but plead, in his behalf, the established nature of the practice; the loss of all his privileges, and even the total dissolution of their society, should it become common to save their children. He left them, at that time, apparently determined to destroy the child; but, a few days after, he came and promised, that should it be born alive, he would bring it to them. Pomare and Ideah, who were also members of the Arreoy society, were particularly spoken to on the same subject. They had not, indeed, cohabited together for sometime; but they lived

* Missionary Voyage, p. 70, 75, 80, 156, 224.

on the same terms of friendship, and in as great dignity as ever, though he had taken another wife, and she one of her own servants. She was even then pregnant by this fellow, and therefore the missionaries took occasion to reason with her on the shocking nature of murder, especially in a mother; they also promised to take the child as soon as it was born, and that afterwards it should be no further trouble to her; but to this she would not consent. They then addressed Pomare, and entreated him to interpose with his authority in suppressing this diabolical practice, and likewise to prohibit the offering of human sacrifices. All this the wily savage promised to do, saying, "Captain Cook told them these things should not be done; but he did not stay long enough to instruct them." Manne Manne, the high priest, who had shewn them much attention ever since their arrival, having come in during this conversation, they told him that if he offered any more human sacrifices, he would utterly forfeit their friendship, and might look upon them as his enemies. He, accordingly, was not backward to give them his promise; though probably it was with a design it should never be fulfilled.*

As Christianity and civilization have a natural and intimate connection together, the missionaries, while they instructed the Otaheitans in the truths of religion, endeavoured to introduce among them the useful arts of life. Having erected a forge, a few weeks after their arrival, Hassel and Hodges began to work at the trade of smiths. The natives flocked around them, and were astonished at the ease and rapidity with which they wrought their tools. They were greatly frightened, however, with the sparks and the hissing of the hot iron in water: no sooner did these begin, than they fled in all directions. Pomare was delighted, beyond measure, with the bellows and the forge: he caught the Blacksmith in his arms, all dirty as he was, and joined noses with him, an expression, it seems, of the highest satisfaction.†

* Miss. Voyage, p. 153. † Ibid. p. 159, 161.

Such, indeed, was the respect in which the missionaries were held by the Otaheitans, that Otoo and his queen brought a large present to Mr. Cover and his wife, desiring to become their adopted children, and promising to regard them as their father and mother. Pomare and Ideah brought them a still larger present in the evening, and begged them to receive the king and the queen as their offspring. It is almost incredible, indeed, what quantities of provisions were poured in upon them: at one time, they mention, they had no less than a waggon load of fruits, besides a multitude of hogs and poultry.*

Captain Wilson, after establishing missions in Tongataboo and St. Christina, returned to Otaheite, after an absence of more than three months, and, to his great joy, he found the missionaries still in high favour both with the chiefs and the people. Encouraged by this circumstance, he left the island in the beginning of August; and after revisiting the other settlements, and touching at Canton for a cargo of tea, he arrived in England in the month of July 1798.†

Sanguine as had been the hopes of the Missionary Society, at the departure of the Duff, they were now elevated beyond all measure, on her return. Nor was this feeling confined to them; it pervaded the whole Christian world; every man who took an interest in the cause of missions, now seemed big with expectations of success; if any, at least, entertained other views, they scarcely ventured to express them. A day of thanksgiving being appointed by the Missionary Society, for the return of the Duff, and the promising aspect of the mission, Dr. Haweis, one of the preachers on this occasion, drew the following splendid and fascinating picture of the success with which God had crowned the undertaking:

"In this voyage, to tell of all his wonders, my time would fail, and my ability would be unequal. I will just re-

* Miss. Voyage, p. 152. † Ibid. p. 152

fresh your memory with the following hints of some of the great things done for us, in the swiftness, the safety, the health, and the success of the voyage, particularly respecting the great object we had in view.

First, the swiftness of the passage. This will be the admiration of every nautical man by profession. Who ever heard, in the most prosperous voyage, of the ablest navigators, of a hundred and eighty-three degrees of longitude passed in the short space of fifty-one days? Moving often at the rate of two hundred and twenty, or thirty miles a day, and so steadily before the wind, as seldom ever to interrupt the daily exercises of prayer and praise, of study, or repose.

Secondly, Shall we not, with thankfulness, admire the safety of the conveyance? Not a mast sprung, not a yard lost, not a sail split, not an anchor left behind. To traverse more than twice the circumference of the globe, especially amidst the lurking shoals, the hidden rocks, the low islands of the Southern Ocean, must, it is well-known, be full of danger. They felt it, and sometimes were at their wits end, going up to heaven, and sinking down in the deep, shaken by the pealing thunder, embayed without a passage, and once supended on the dreadful reef. I read and trembled. But "he that dwelleth under the defence of the Most High, shall be safe under the shadow of the Almighty." I was ashamed, humbled, comforted, when, in the midst of the most awful scenes, I heard one of my brethren say, "We took the wings of faith, and fled in prayer to the God of our mercies; and, when we had sung an hymn, presently the storm abated, and we lay down comfortable, and fell asleep." Ah! "so he giveth his beloved sleep."

Thirdly, Their health. What a miracle of mercy hath our vessel been! Of about sixty persons, during nearly a two years voyage, not one hath been lost. Not only a hair of their head hath not perished, but those who have returned are fat and well-looking; and every man and woman is reported in better health than when they left the shores of

their native country. What disease, misery, and famine, have we not often heard of in voyages of far less extent and duration? The great physician had determined, that the inhabitants of his ark should not complain, "I am sick." Few vessels have ever been so long without touching for refreshment, or performed so vast a run as thirteen thousand eight hundred miles, without the sight of land. But except the common well-known effects of the sea, or the indisposition of an individual, not a scorbutic complaint appeared, no spreading fever, no infectious disorder, no dangerous accident, or broken bone. Passing through climates so different, tender women and children, many of whom had never seen the sea till they embarked upon it, unaccustomed to such food or accommodation, they reached Otaheite, after a five months voyage, without an individual sick. All the way they had plenty of provisions; their water sweet, abundant, and never failing; and not a creature wanting any manner of thing that was good.

But I reserve the most important particular till the last, the success of the voyage, respecting the great object we had in view. We had passed in safety the dangers of the deep, and were ready to encounter the greater danger apprehended from the shore; not, indeed, by myself or those who knew the real state of these islands. We were convinced, if the Lord conveyed our missionaries in safety to the place of their destination, our work was done. Where are now the cannibals that were to devour us? Where the Heathen to seize our property and persons? Where the helpless infants with their mothers, a prey to the savage arms? These vain terrors at least, brethren, are dissipated. I need not tell you the reception we have met with. Welcomed as angels from heaven; furnished with every necessary for subsistence and for comfort; heard with reverence, and courted as if our favour and friendship were the first of blessings. I use no exaggeration; I recite simple facts. The news of our intended residence among the Otaheitans and other isl-

anders, were received with transport. The king and every chief crowded round our missionaries; the whole land was before them; they had to choose the Goshen where they would set up their tents. Set up their tents do I say? Behold a specious mansion, surrounded with bread-fruits, cocoa-nuts, and the beautiful evee apple, ready prepared for their reception, sufficient to accommodate the whole body of missionaries. They are met on the beach by the king and his chiefs, led by the hand amidst the crowd of surrounding and admiring natives, and not only put in possession of such an abode, but the whole district of Matavai, with all its produce, solemnly ceded to them forever; a territory sufficient to maintain ten thousand persons. Each chief is eager to secure the friendship of the individual missionaries, and as their Tayos, to invest them with their authority, and admit them to a participation of all they possess. So far from danger or subjection to tyrannical or savage rule, the Lord hath made them princes, in a manner, in all the lands of the Heathen whither they have gone. It was mockingly said, "The trees, I suppose, produce hot rolls for breakfast." It is true, those who ventured to those distant lands, little thought what they should eat, or what they should drink: yet it is singular, that our brethren, with united voice, declare their bread fruit is prepared for them, and equal to the nicest white bread in England. But they have applied it to a nobler use. The admiring heathen have seen it broken as the symbol of our most sacred mysteries, and received by the holy brethren, as the body of their Lord, and the pledge of his dying love.

But I must not detain you with other particulars. I will only add, these are the least of our missionary mercies. The natives have shewn the most uncommon attention, from the greatest to the least of them. They frequent our worship in multitudes, confess our God to be greater than their own, and desire to know more of Him and his word; though we can only yet preach through an interpreter, and by transla-

tions which we begin to read to them in their own tongue, and which they hear with reverence, and say, they generally understand. They have already brought their children for instruction, and our school is opened; many know all their letters, and begin to join them with great docility. The chief priest of the country is most friendly to the missionaries, and seconds their instruction, assuring the people it is "my tye," good; and says they must amend their manners. "I am told to learn," says he, "but our children will be taught all these wonderous things, which we see, and know the speaking book."

The missionaries have not indeed manna rained round their tents, but they have meat as sweet as the quails; and bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and a multitude of vegetables brought daily; and a two-fold provision for the Sabbath, much more than they can possibly consume, and which are distributed to the servants and natives. Our brethren are active; they have acquired much of the language, have formed themselves comfortable residences, and every day are employed in labours to make known his name, and to proclaim his glory for whose sake they have gone forth to the Heathen, with their lives in their hands; and proved the truth of his promises, in a measure of which we have no adequate conception: "Whosoever will lose his life shall preserve it; and whosoever hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life."

Unable to enter into further particulars, I shall only add, as the result of the fullest inquiry and intelligence, that nothing can appear more promising than the beginning of our labours in these isles of the sea. The fields, indeed, appear white for harvest; they regard us as beings of a superior order; they feel and confess their own inferiority; they hear us in silent awe; and they seem ready to embrace our message, as soon as we are able to communicate it to them. Ah! breth-

ren, do not your hearts burn within you, at the tidings you have heard; and joining in one vast burst of praise and adoration with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, can we but shout around the throne; "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing?"*

Such was the representation which Dr. Hawies drew of the success of the South Sea mission, a representation far beyond the truth, and in which every circumstance of an unfavorable aspect is carefully kept out of view. Animated, however, by this dazzling description, as well as by their own sanguine hopes, the Missionary Society determined to lose no time in prosecuting a work they had so successfully begun. On the very next day, they passed a resolution to undertake another voyage to the Pacific Ocean, "for the purpose of visiting and assisting the missionaries already there, of adding to their number where circumstances might render it expedient, and of planting the gospel in other islands, where it should appear most eligible, from their extent, population, or other favourable circumstances." Such, indeed, were the energy and zeal manifested on this occasion, such the liberality of the Christian public, such the eagerness of multitudes to go abroad as missionaries, that within little more than three months from the time this resolution was taken, the preparations for the voyage were completed, and the ship was ready to sail.†

Before the end of December, the Duff sailed from England on her second voyage to the South Sea Islands, under the command of captain Thomas Robson, with twenty nine missionaries on board, and the Rev. Mr. Howel of Knaresburgh as superintendent of the mission. A number of the missionaries were married; five of them were ordained to the

* Thanksgiving Sermons before the Missionary Society, August 6, 1798. p 49, 56.

† Evangelical Magazine, vol. vi. p. 378, 509.

ministry; several of them possessed some degree of medical knowledge; and most of the others were artizans of various descriptions. The letter of instructions from the directors of the Society with regard to the conduct and arrangement of the mission, displays in general much good sense, extensive information, and calm consideration of the subject; though, it is probable, they little expected the difficulties and disappointments for which they in this manner endeavoured to make provision.*

Hitherto the Missionary Society had beheld its operations crowned with success, beyond the expectations even of its most sanguine members. But now the sky grew dark; the clouds began to gather; the storm burst at once in various quarters. It was like an electric shock to the Christian world. The Duff had not left England two months, when she and all the missionaries on board were captured off Cape Frio, on the nineteenth of February 1799, by the Bonoparte, a French privateer of twenty-two guns, and upwards of two hundred men. The morning of that day was clear and fine, and it was just possible to perceive a vessel at a prodigious distance, but as its appearance was very insignificant (for it was only like a fishing smack) the missionaries and the crew of the Duff, with one or two exceptions, were disposed to pay little or no attention to it. It seemed extremely improbable that an enemy's ship should be cruizing in that quarter, and the conclusion that it would inevitably fall into the hands of the Portuguese, tended still further to dispel every fear. During the preceding part of the voyage, they had uniformly been alarmed on the sight of any strange sail, and committed themselves to the protection of the Most High; but, on this occasion, as they were apprehensive of no danger, so they offered up no prayers for deliverance. The event, indeed, shewed that their security was founded in presumption; but yet it is proper to remark, that had they known the utmost of their danger, it was not in their power

* Evangelical Magazine, vol. vii. p. 3, 38.

to have shunned it, for there was a still calm during the early part of the day, so that they could make no way at all, and they apprehended that the same was the case with the other vessel. Indeed, from the best observations they were able to make with their glasses, she seemed to be riding at anchor, about twelve o'clock; whereas, it afterwards appeared, that she was advancing towards them by the help of her sweeps, at the rate of several miles an hour; but with all her port holes shut, the better to conceal her hostile design. About four in the afternoon there sprung up a light breeze, and they made the best use of it they were able, being now within a few leagues of Rio Janeiro, and impatient to reach that port, in order to obtain refreshments. With this view alone, and not from any apprehension of danger, they made all the sail they could; and though they perceived the other vessel doing the same, it gave them little or no concern. What then was their surprise and astonishment, when about ten o'clock at night, after they had spent the day in the most perfect security, she fired a gun to bring them to. The moon had hitherto shone bright; but a light squall now sprung up; the sky was obscured by a thick cloud, and a heavy shower of rain began to fall. At that moment, the first shot was followed by a second, the direction of which was so near the Duff, as to be heard in the air, and seen in the water. Most of the company, however, were still disposed to hope the best; and that, when it was understood who they were, and what was their design, they would be allowed to proceed on their voyage without further molestation. But this hope quickly vanished when she came up to them: then the haughty tone of her English interpreter not only rendered them suspicious of danger, but made some of them literally tremble. The enemy, with little ceremony, ordered them to send off their boat; and as this was not done instantly, they again bellowed forth the authoritative command, threatening, in case of refusal, to sink them to the bottom. The first mate accordingly hastened on board

the Bonaparte; and, in a short time, he returned with the awful intelligence, that the Duff was a prize, and that all the men, without exception, were ordered to leave her immediately, and go on board the enemy. The feelings of the captain, the missionaries, and the crew, on receiving this order, it is more easy to conceive than describe. The married brethren, in particular, were filled with the utmost consternation and distress; the thought of leaving their wives and their children in the hands of a lawless banditti, swallowed up every other consideration. Besides, the officers who had come on board, armed with cutlasses, executed the order with so much despatch, that no opportunity was afforded those who had no wearing apparel but what they had on, to procure a further supply, a circumstance which afterwards tended not a little to aggravate their distress. Some of the sailors, indeed, had already taken possession of the cabins, and were enriching themselves with the spoils; while others drove the missionaries and the crew into the boat, as if they had been so many sheep for the slaughter, without inquiring whether the number herded together could be accommodated or not. Even after it was full as it could well hold, they threw down upon them from the ship whatever baggage was to be conveyed to the privateer, without the smallest regard to their safety. "Our property," says Mr. Howel, "they knew how to value; our persons were deemed of little worth." The prisoners, on entering the Bonaparte, were struck with the scene: it seemed a kind of hell in uproar. Noise and confusion reigned in full perfection, which, together with the forlorn appearance, the squalid looks, and the barbarous manners of the crew, overwhelmed the poor missionaries with grief and horror. They stood all together near the stern of the vessel, to which they were directed as they entered, till about two o'clock in the morning, gazing on one another as helpless objects of commiseration, lost in astonishment, incapable of making one consolatory reflection for their mutual comfort, and sunk almost into a state of mental tor-

por; unable to reconcile their present disastrous situation with the gracious superintending providence of God, and ignorant of what severe trials they might yet be called to suffer. They were, at length, conducted by a sentry below deck, to the place where the sailors slept. In this uncomfortable situation, they had to spend their nights on board the Bonaparte, though during the day they were permitted to come on deck. This place was so low that they could scarcely stand upright, and so small they had scarcely room to lie; while, at the same time, the smell was so offensive, the heat so intense, and the air so close, that they were almost suffocated to death. They now learned the value of water, by the painful experience of the want of it. Such as in England they would not have employed to wash their hands, was now deemed valuable to quench their thirst; the allowance being only a scanty quart in twenty-four hours, though they were oppressed with the heat of a vertical sun. Besides, the sailors, in passing to and from their hammocks, trod over them; and the vermin, from their beds, dropped upon those under them; while the sentinels who stood on guard, in passing to and from the lantern, used to thrust the points of their swords between them, to feel for room where they might put their feet. The sailors also plundered them of what little property any of them still possessed. Such of them as had time or recollection, on the night of the capture, brought with them a small bundle of clothes; but now they lost them in whole, or in part, through the rapacity of these miscreants, who left many of them without a shirt to change with another. This was unknown to captain Carbonelle, the commander of the privateer; and, indeed, when he was informed of it, he ordered the rogues to bring all their hammocks, beds, bags, &c. on the quarter deck, and desired the missionaries to claim what was their property. By this means some of them recovered part of the articles stolen from them; but this transaction heightened the enmity of

the wretches against them, which they did not fail to manifest in future, as far as was in their power.*

Indeed, as Carbonelle and his officers became acquainted with their character, and the nature of their undertaking, they alleviated to the utmost of their power, the horrors of their captivity, and were disposed to shew them every indulgence. The captain expressed his concern for their mode of living and lodging, which necessity, not choice, imposed upon him. He felt for them as a sympathising friend, rather than triumphed over them as an unfeeling enemy. He always endeavoured to encourage their confidence and hope, by his gentle treatment, his friendly conversation, and his courteous manners, instead of impressing them with servile awe, by the frown of his countenance, or the authority of his office. When the instructions of the Missionary Society to captain Robson were communicated to him, he seemed to feel exceedingly on their account. Had he known, he said, who they were, and the cause in which they were embarked, he would sooner have given 500*l.* out of his own pocket than have met with them: but now the laws of his country, and the claims of his officers and men, compelled him to act as he did.†

For some time the missionaries knew not what might be their destiny, whether they would be detained prisoners of war, or set at liberty upon their arrival in port. As it was natural to persons in their situation, hope and fear, distrust and confidence, alternately prevailed. In general, most of them were enabled to cast their cares on God; but yet, on some occasions, they appear to have been torn with anxiety, and agitated with the most tumultuous conflicting passions. Their capture afforded a trial of their missionary temper; and it must be acknowledged, that the character of some of

* Howel's Interesting Particulars of the Second Voyage of the Missionary Ship Duff, p. 23, 35. Gregory's Journal of a Captured Missionary in the second voyage of the Duff, p. 18, 24, 28, 52, 58.

† Howel's Interesting Particulars, p. 41, 49. Gregory's Journal, p. 27.

them did not appear in the most favourable light. There were several who manifested an impatient, discontented, refractory spirit, and a want of all subordination.*

The Bonaparte was out on a three months cruise, so that the prospect before them was not the most pleasing; but having in less than a fortnight taken three other prizes, captain Carbonelle altered his original design, and sailed for Monte Video in the Rio de la Plata, where he arrived within three weeks after the capture of the Duff; and thus the captivity of the missionaries was providentially shortened.†

On their arrival, they had the happiness to learn that the Duff had reached Monte Video ten days before them. Immediately on being taken possession of by the French, she had been despatched to that port under the command of M. Riviere, as prize-master, with the women and children on board; a circumstance which had occasioned, both them and their partners in life, the greatest anxiety and distress, as it was uncertain when, or even if ever, they should see each other again. Captain Carbonelle, however, had kindly suffered Mr. Turner, the surgeon, to accompany them, in order to afford them medical aid, in case of any indisposition occurring among them. Indeed, though the sailors were disposed to pilfer and otherwise maltreat them, yet the officers uniformly shewed them the utmost attention, treating them with the greatest politeness, and the most scrupulous delicacy. Every regard was paid to their convenience and comfort, as well as to their personal safety. Whatever provisions were on board, were at their command; and they were told, they had only to mention what they wanted, and if it was in the ship it was at their service. When any of the live stock were killed, they always had the preference, and were permitted to make their choice, before either the officers or the seamen: and upon their arrival at Monte Video, they were immediately supplied with apples, pears, peaches,

* Howel's Interesting particulars, p. 52, 54, 55, 62, 69.

† Gregory's Journal, p. 24, 58.

figs, and melons, which, considering the time they had been at sea, were a most delicious repast to them, though some, from using them too freely, experienced the bad effects of their indulgence. To crown the whole of these mercies, they had now the pleasure of seeing their husbands in safety; and the joy which they mutually felt at meeting, was somewhat in proportion to the horror they had experienced at parting.*

During their stay in South America, the missionaries were not confined as prisoners of war, but were permitted to go about without molestation or fear. Not only did captain Carbonelle and his officers continue to shew them the greatest attention, but even the Spaniards in general treated them with the utmost civility. At all the cottages where they called, they met with much hospitality; the inhabitants cheerfully supplied them with the best their tables could afford, and in many instances refused to accept of the smallest remuneration. Two of the women who were pregnant being near the time of their delivery, and the house where they lodged being extremely inconvenient for such an occurrence, as the whole of the married people had only two sleeping apartments among them, a gentleman of Monte Video generously granted them the use of his house in the country, about six miles from the town, with all the accommodations it could afford. In several instances, indeed, when the missionaries made excursions into the neighbouring country, a practice against which they were particularly warned, they were attacked by robbers, and some of them even narrowly escaped with their life.†

Being now, however, in a foreign land, where they had no opportunities of usefulness, and where they still suffered not a few inconveniences, they were impatient to leave it as speedily as possible. Every scheme, however, which they

* Howel's Interesting particulars, p. 95. Gregory's Journal, p. 76, 88.

† Howel's Interesting Particulars, p. 106, 116, 120.

formed for this purpose, was successively frustrated; and, at length, the prospect of their removal seemed in a great measure closed. They had early formed some expectations of being able to redeem the Duff, and to proceed on their voyage; but though captain Carbonelle was favourable to the plan, they soon found that this desirable object could not be attained, unless by the prompt payment of hard cash, on account of the sailors usually demanding their prize money before they leave the port where the vessel is disposed of; a thing which, in their circumstances, it was impossible for them to accomplish. Several of the missionaries now formed the idea of visiting Patagonia, and of endeavouring to plant Christianity in that benighted country; but on further consideration, it was also found necessary to relinquish this plan. They next made an attempt to purchase a small brig, one of the prizes of the Bonaparte; and after a great deal of trouble in contracting for her, they considered the bargain as in a manner concluded. Most of the missionaries now expressed their willingness to prosecute their voyage to the South Sea Islands, provided it was deemed practicable and safe; but as captain Robson thought the season was too far advanced for this purpose, some offered to go to the Cape of Good Hope, and some to Sierra Leone, while others chose to return to England. But in a day or two the whole of this arrangement was unexpectedly frustrated; for notwithstanding the bargain they had made, the vessel was sold to a Portuguese merchant. The missionaries were now reduced to the utmost perplexity, for an order was issued by the Spanish viceroy to make them all prisoners, if they did not leave the country within about a week.*

The missionaries had now nothing before them but the prospect of captivity, in a far distant country, unless that captain Carbonelle would take them on board the Bonaparte; and he assured them, that in that case, he would be obliged

* Howel's Interesting Particulars, p. 131, 51, 99, 127.

to land them on some part of the coast, the first opportunity he could find, or else to carry them prisoners to Cayenne, a French settlement to the northward. Such was the dilemma to which they were reduced, when he succeeded in procuring a passage for them to Rio Janeiro, in the vessel of which they had been disappointed; and he, at the same time, had the generosity to advance them several hundred dollars on account of the Missionary Society, to provide them in stores for their voyage. In a short time they got every thing ready for their departure, and after taking an affectionate farewell of their friends at Monte Video, they embarked on board the Portuguese brig about the beginning of May, and set sail for Rio Janeiro. The voyage they hoped would not occupy more than a fortnight, but to their great disappointment, it lasted about a month; and as the vessel was very small, they were extremely crowded, and suffered many other inconveniences in the course of the passage. They had begun, however, to flatter themselves with the prospect of speedily entering the harbour of Rio Janeiro, when they were alarmed by the sight of a fleet of ships, one of which bore down upon them, and proved to be a frigate of forty guns. So large a vessel, with her ports open, and full of men of a strange, savage, uncouth appearance, could not fail to strike the missionaries with alarm, after what they had lately suffered. They had soon, indeed, the satisfaction of beholding her hoist Portuguese colours; but this proved no protection to them; for as the merchant had purchased the brig without her having been regularly condemned, and as he had likewise been chargeable with some illicit acts of smuggling, his vessel was now captured by his own countrymen.*

The missionaries being thus captured a second time, were ordered out of the brig, and taken on board either of the commodore's ship, of seventy-four guns, or of the frigate of forty, which were the convoy of the fleet. The situa-

* Howel's Interesting Particulars, p. 93, 138, 163, 173, 179.

tion of the brethren in these two vessels was extremely different. The captain and principal officers of the frigate were polite, humane, and liberal, and afforded their guests every accommodation and comfort the stores of the ship could supply. The commodore and his first captain, on the contrary, were imperious, capricious tyrants to those under their command, and cruel unfeeling monsters toward strangers. Devoid of common decency, they frequently put the missionaries to the blush; without common humanity, they as often put their feelings on the rack. Observing, indeed, the uniform propriety of the missionaries' behaviour, they began by degrees to treat them somewhat better, particularly Mr. Howel, whom the commodore understood to be a priest, and therefore he accommodated him with a cabin to sleep in, allowed him the use of his own apartments, and admitted him to his table. Being set at liberty on their arrival in Lisbon, they lost no time in procuring a passage to England, where most of them arrived about the middle of October, after an absence of nearly ten months, in the course of which, as their trials, so their mercies had been neither few nor small.*

The Missionary Society had not recovered from the astonishment and distress which the first intelligence of the capture of the Duff occasioned them, when they received tidings from Otaheite, of the removal of most of the missionaries from that island. To account for this painful event it is necessary to trace the history of the mission from the time of captain Wilson's departure.

Captain Wilson had scarcely left the island, to return to England, when some of the natives formed a design to seize on the property of the missionaries; but, for the present, the plan was not carried into effect. They were constantly, however, committing depredations upon them, and in this they sometimes manifested not a little ingenuity. One

* Howel's Interesting Particulars, p. 183, 196, 214, 217, 226, 207, 212, 265. Gregory's Journal, passim.

morning a thief was discovered to have entered the smith's shop, and carried off a number of small but valuable articles. The manner of the robbery was somewhat curious, and shews the artifice and dexterity of the rogue. He appears not to have had a knife, as by simply cutting the lashings of the sticks that formed the walls of the shop, he might have entered it with far less trouble, as well as time. Instead of this, therefore, he dug out the sand from below, apparently with his hands, which are the common spade of the natives, and made a hole large enough to admit himself through, together with the stolen articles, under the ends of the sticks, which were not less than two feet deep in the ground. This operation must have taken him considerable time, and he must have been under perpetual apprehension of detection by the watch, who was walking round the house, and must often have passed him. The attention of the watch, indeed, was once attracted to the place where the man was at work, but the fellow had so coiled himself up in the hole, that the guard took him for a hog, and left him unmolested. The thief, however, was afterwards discovered, and on application to the chief of the district, the articles he had stolen were restored to the missionaries.*

One of the earliest cares of the missionaries, was the establishment of an hospital, for the reception of sick natives, many of whom were languishing under the venereal and other diseases. A few, at first, did come; but the generality of the poor creatures seemed afraid, or were insensible to the benevolence of their design. Some even expected a present before they would take any medicine, and it was necessary that every thing should be sweet, or they said it was not good. At the same time, they had not the least patience, being disappointed unless they were cured in three or four days. One day, as a number of little boys were gathering bread-fruit, one of them fell from the tree and fractured his arm. Mr. Clode, one of the missionaries, im-

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 2, 8.

mediately set it, and for five days it remained in good order; but the lad being wild and inattentive, broke it again. Mr. Clode now attempted to reset it, but as the boy was in great agony for several hours, his father came, and insisted on taking him home, saying "he would carry him to a native doctor, and pray to the Eatoa, and then he would soon recover." The missionaries endeavoured to persuade him to allow his son to remain with them; but all their arguments were in vain. Two of them, therefore, went next morning to the place, which was several miles distant, to see the boy; but on their arrival they found he had died in the course of the night. He had been placed, it seems, in a cold running water, while in a very high fever, and immediately expired. The father acknowledged, with tears, his error in taking him away, and was lamenting most bitterly the untimely death of his child. Agreeably to the custom of the island, he cut himself with a shark's tooth, and had already lost a considerable quantity of blood, which he carefully caught upon a piece of white cloth, and laid it down by the deceased, who was decorated with flowers, and a garland round his head. Sometime after this, when Temaree, one of the chiefs of the island, was severely burned by an explosion of gun-powder, Mr. Broomhall, another of the missionaries who possessed some knowledge of medicine, was applied to for assistance. He accordingly went, and employed what he considered as the most suitable remedies. When he returned, however, the next day, he was astonished at the appearance of his patient, who was now daubed all over with a thick white paste, which he understood to be the scrapings of yams. Both the chief and his wife, indeed, were mightily offended with Mr. Broomhall, and would allow him to do nothing further, his first application, they said, had been attended with so much pain. Otoo the king likewise seemed highly displeased with him, on the same account; and Mr. Harris had even considerable apprehensions that he intended to murder them, though for this there seems not to have

been the smallest foundation. Afterwards, indeed, their wrath seems to have subsided; for, in a few days, Pomare applied to Mr. Broomhall to revisit the chief, who was now extremely ill, and to administer something to him, that would cure him without giving him pain.* Thus the medical skill of the missionaries was, at first, not only of little use to the natives, but was even attended with danger to themselves. It is obvious, indeed, that among savages the practice of medicine must be followed with extreme caution, as when a patient dies, they will ever be ready to ascribe the fatal termination of his disorder to the remedies employed, so different from those which they have been accustomed to use, and, perhaps, they may even be disposed to revenge his death on the medical practitioner.

But while the missionaries were employed in these and other pursuits, connected with the great object of their labours, an event occurred which drove most of them off the island, and even threatened the extinction of the mission. In March 1798, the ship Nautilus, commanded by captain Bishop, arrived in Matavai bay, and, after taking in refreshments, proceeded on her voyage; but in a few days she was driven back by a violent gale of wind. While she was on the island, two of the sailors and five natives of Owhyhee, who were on board, made their escape from the ship, and secreted themselves on shore. The chiefs manifested an intention to protect them; but captain Bishop expressed his determination to recover them, especially the seamen, cost what it would. With this view he made application to the missionaries, for their assistance;† and as they were no less anxious than himself that the deserters should be delivered up, they resolved to send a deputation to the three principal chiefs who were then in Opare, Otoo, Pomare, and Temaree. Messrs. Jefferson, Broomhall, Main, and William Puckey, accordingly set off for that district, and arrived first at the house of Temaree; but as they did not

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 3, 19, 75. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 27, 29, 31.

think it proper to communicate the design of their journey to him alone, they requested him to accompany them to the king's house, to which he consented. On reaching Otoo's habitation, they found his majesty seated amidst a number of his attendants, and employed in the royal exercise of cleaning a small-tooth comb. He received them with the usual salutations of friendship, and asked them the occasion of their visit. But as Pomare was still wanting, being at a place about two miles distant, they forbore mentioning it, until he also should arrive. They had already sent off for that chief, but apprehending that the messenger might be dilatory, they resolved to proceed themselves to him, and beg him to come and meet his son and Temaree, that they might unfold the business to them all together. By the way, they passed many of the Otaheitans, who saluted them with their usual frankness. When they had advanced about three-quarters of a mile, and were near the banks of a river which they had to ford, they found themselves accompanied by about thirty of the natives; but of this they took no notice, as it was a usual thing in their journies, until suddenly three or four of them laid hold on Mr. Broomhall's coat, which he had taken off, and was carrying under his arm, and began to wrest it from him. Mr. Jefferson went to his assistance, and asked them why they acted in such a manner. Turning his head round, he beheld Puckey, on the ground, and a number of the natives stripping him with great avidity, after which they dragged him to the river, by the hair of the head, and made some attempts, as it were, to drown him. Casting his eyes in a different direction, he saw Main in the hands of some others, who were tearing the clothes off his back. At that instant, Jefferson himself was seized by four or five of the natives, who began to pull him violently in different ways, contending with each other who should have his clothes which they would not give him time to unbutton, but stripped them off as fast as they were able. In the course of the scuffle, they dragged him through the river, but without

materially injuring him, though he expected nothing short of death from their savage brutality. They now seemed undetermined what to do with him. One was for taking him to the mountains, another towards the sea, but he himself intreated them to carry him to Pomare. Many of the natives, who had no concern in the affair, now collected together, and, seeming to feel for his situation, attempted to rescue him out of their hands. During the short contest which ensued, Puckey and Main were hurried before him perfectly naked, except a narrow slip of cloth round their loins. Jefferson requested those who had now the charge of him to conduct him, and his two brethren to Pomare, a proposal to which they readily agreed. As they passed along, the missionaries were pleased to see the women express their compassion for them by their tears. At length they came to Pomare, whom they found under a shed by the sea-side, with his wife Ideah, and a few attendants, and were received by them with the utmost humanity. They were immediately supplied with cloth to cover them, and were made as easy as possible, by the promise of protection to themselves and their brethren. Still, however, they were anxious about the safety of Mr. Broomhall, and therefore they asked the chief to send in quest of him, a proposal to which he readily consented.*

After resting about an hour, the three missionaries, accompanied by Pomare and Ideah, proceeded on their return to Matavai. Shortly before they came to the place where they were stripped by the natives, Mr. Broomhall joined them. The savages had more than once threatened to murder him. He not only, however, escaped with his life, but was permitted to retain his shirt, trowsers, and watch; and the king, to whose house he was taken, procured him likewise his hat. On their arrival, about eight o'clock in the evening, at the mission house, they found their brethren under arms, for the

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 33.

other missionaries had not only received intelligence of the disaster from a boy whom Mr. Broomhall had despatched for the purpose, but they were much alarmed by various reports, as if the natives designed to attack their little settlement, and therefore they had put themselves in a posture of self-defence.*

Alarmed to a high degree by this disaster and these reports, a meeting of the missionaries was called next morning, and while they were yet in a state of the utmost consternation, the greater part of them came to a hasty resolution to leave Otaheite, and to proceed, in the Nautilus, to Port Jackson. Before their departure, however, Manne Manne the high priest came to Matavai, with a messenger from Pomare, to the four missionaries who had been stripped in Opare, together with a chicken and a young plantain tree, as an atonement and peace-offering to them. At the same time, most of the articles of which they had been plundered were restored to them. When the natives understood that most of the missionaries, together with the women and children, designed to quit the island, it seemed to give them some degree of concern. But notwithstanding these favourable appearances, eleven of the missionaries, namely, Messrs. James Fleet Cover, William Henry,† Rowland Hassel, Francis Oakes, Edward Main, Peter Hodges, James Puckey, William Puckey, Samuel Clode, John Cock, and William Smith, together with four women and four children, embarked, without delay, on board the Nautilus, and after a disagreeable voyage of about six weeks, they arrived at Port Jackson, where they met with a very friendly reception from his excellency Mr. Hunter, the governor, and from the Rev. Mr. Johnson, and the Rev. Mr. Marsden, the chaplains of the settlement. Encouraged by these gentlemen, they made some attempts to promote the interests of religion in the

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 36.

† Mr. Henry afterwards returned to Otaheite with his family.

colony; but their exertions were attended with little or no success. Some of them, indeed, turned out extremely ill, so that their removal from Otaheite, instead of being hurtful, may rather be considered as beneficial to the mission. It is likewise not unworthy of notice, that the missionaries who fled to New South Wales, appear to have been exposed to greater danger, and to have suffered severer trials, than their brethren who remained in Otaheite. Mr. Hassel was robbed of nearly all he possessed, and dangerously wounded by six ruffians, who broke into his lodgings near Paramatta; and Mr. Clode was inhumanly murdered, in the neighbourhood of Sydney, under circumstances of such a tragical nature, that it may not be uninteresting to give a more particular detail of this unfortunate event.*

Mr. Clode had been upwards of a year in New South Wales, when he resolved to return to England, and was now making preparations for the voyage. Having lent, however, some little money to a soldier of the name of Jones, who was a townsman of his own, he thought it necessary to ask payment of it; and after some altercation, the fellow desired him to call on the Tuesday following, and he would settle with him. About four o'clock that afternoon, Mr. Clode called at the Rev. Mr. Johnson's, sat a few minutes, and then took his leave for the night, promising to call again next morning with some medicine for one of the family, who was at that time indisposed. Instead, however, of seeing his friend next morning, Mr. Johnson was horrified with the tidings that he was murdered, and was found in a saw-pit under water, with his scull fractured in different places, and his throat cut from ear to ear. The news of this shocking event soon spread in all directions. Numbers of people of every description ran to the spot, and among others Jones, the man already mentioned, who charged the person who found the deceased in this melancholy condition with the horrid

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 37, 71, 319. Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 298, 303; vol. x. p. 73.

deed. Suspicions, however, having fallen upon Jones himself, the path leading from the pit to his house was closely examined, and blood was traced to the very door, besides some of the brains of the deceased lying in several places. On making further search in the house, blood was discovered in different parts, particularly in a small skilling. An axe likewise was found with blood and brains upon it, though it had been previously washed; a knife and blanket were discovered in the same state; and upon examining the person of Jones, blood was found upon one of his fingers.—These and other circumstances, having fully confirmed the suspicions of Jones' guilt, he together with his wife, and two other men who lived in their house, were immediately apprehended; and on the very next day a criminal court was convened for their trial, when three of them, namely, Jones, his wife, and Elbray, were convicted on the clearest evidence; and the fourth, though acquitted, was suspected to be at least privy to the deed. After their conviction, they were confined in separate places, for the purpose of obtaining a more full confession of this murder, as well as of others it was conjectured that Jones had committed. He continued, however, hardened to the last, and his wife was little better; but Elbray, struck with remorse, made a full acknowledgement of the whole transaction.*

The scheme, he said, was planned by Jones and his wife on the Sunday. They asked him to assist in it, but he at first refused; and therefore, to gain him over, Jones gave him several drams of spirits, and on the Tuesday morning obtained his consent to the horrid deed. Trotman, the other man who was tried but acquitted, was sent with Jones' two children to a settler's farm for turnips; and as they expected Mr. Clode before dinner, it was the intention of the other three to despatch him before their return; but as he did not come so soon as they apprehended, they were obliged to alter their plan. About four o'clock, two other soldiers

* Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 299.

called in purposely to drink tea. Jones and Elbray were at that time looking out for Mr. Clode, and having observed him coming down the hill at a distance, they went into the house, and Jones proposed that his wife, together with the two soldiers, Trotman and the children, should go and look at a piece of wood which he was said to be cutting for a canoe, a proposal to which they consented. Mr. Clode having in the meanwhile come to the door, was asked in, and a chair was set for him near the table to settle his accounts. An axe was placed in a corner of the room, with which Elbray, coming behind him, was to knock him down. With this view he took it up in his hand, but his heart failing him, he laid it down again and went out of the house. Returning, however, in a short time, he heard Jones give the first blow, and the inhuman wretch repeated the strokes so often, that even Elbray himself at last cried out, "For God's sake Jones, you have knocked him all to pieces." They then dragged him into the skilling; and after they had both come out, Jones went into it again, and coming out a second time, took up a large knife. Elbray having asked him what he was going to do with it, he replied, "D—n him, he moves, he is not dead." He accordingly went in again, and cut his throat from ear to ear, after which he returned, both the knife and his hands still reeking with blood. These he immediately washed, whilst Elbray scattered ashes over the room to conceal the blood upon the floor. The window shutters were then put on, and the tea things set against the return of the company. After tea, liquor was brought upon the table, and several songs were sung by Jones, his wife, and others. About nine o'clock, Jones and Elbray went out, when they dragged the body of the deceased through a hole in the skilling; and taking it upon their shoulders, carried it to the sawpit, threw it in, and covered it over with green boughs. Having finished the work, they returned to the company, and with a diabolical insensibility, kept up their jovial mirth till after midnight. It was not long, however,

before the horrid deed was brought to light. Providentially, a man had been at work for several days upon the ground in the neigbourhood of the pit, and in the evening he used to leave his hoe in this very place. On going next morning to look for it, he was surprised to see the pit covered with so many green boughs; and suspected that some stolen property might be under them, he began to remove them, when, to his astonisment, he discovered the hand of a dead man. He then called out to another person who was cutting firewood at a small distance: three or four others came at the same time, among whom was Jones, who immediately charged the man who had discovered Mr. Clode in this melancholy condition with the horrid deed, and wanted to tie his hands with an handkerchief, and take him into the camp a prisoner. The wretch now came into the camp with tidings of the murder, expressed his concern for the death of a man he so dearly loved, and to whom he was so deeply indebted for his attention to him and his family in times of sickness, and again endeavoured to throw the blame of it upon the person who first discovered the deceased. From the tale he told, and the concurrence of other circumstances, the man was committed to prison; but at the very time Jones was talking in this manner, another person came up and said to him, "Jones, you are the murderer! Blood is traced from the pit to your door." He then began to protest his innocence; and when he was taken to the pit and ordered to look at the body, and to touch it, he replied, "Yes I will, and kiss him too, if you please; for I loved him as my brother."*

That the wretch had reason to love Mr. Clode, appears from his wife's declaration to Mr. Johnson while she was under sentence of death. When he was speaking to her of the horrid deed, and lamenting the unhappy end of a friend he so highly esteemed, she made this reply, "O sir, that dear man was the saving both of my life and the life of my

* Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 300.

husband. His attention to Trotman was such as I never saw in any other person in my life. Three times a day he came to visit him, washing and cleaning his sores; and had it not been for his attention, he would certainly have lost his hand."* Who can hear such a declaration, and not shudder to think that monsters exist in the world who could murder the man to whom they were under so many and so great obligations!

By an order from the governor, the house in which the murder was perpetrated was pulled down on the Saturday, and burnt to ashes, a temporary gallows was erected upon the spot; and at twelve o'clock the three inhuman wretches were conveyed in a cart to the place, and were there launched into eternity, to appear before the tribunal of the Great Judge of the world. The bodies of the two men were hung in chains near the place; that of the woman was given to the surgeons for dissection.†

In the meanwhile, Mr. Johnson had given directions to have the body of Mr. Clode brought into the town, and ordered a decent shroud and coffin to be prepared for it. Numbers of people came to see it, and many of them lamented, with tears, his untimely end. On Friday, his body was committed to the cold and silent grave. The pall was borne by Dr. Harris, other four surgeons, and captain Wilkinson, the commander of the ship in which he was to have sailed for England. His excellency the governor, and the Rev. Mr. Johnson, walked before the corpse; Messrs. Cover, Henry, Hassel, Smith, Oakes, and the two Puckeys, behind it; and after them several officers and others. After the burial service was read, a hymn was given out by Mr. Cover; Mr. Johnson then spoke a little on the melancholy occasion. Many were in tears, and he himself, was so much affected that he was scarcely able to proceed. He appears, indeed, to have had a particular attachment to Mr. Clode, and he

* Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 301. † Ibid.

informs us that his conduct as a Christian was both humble and exemplary; as a surgeon, humane and attentive; and as a missionary, he spent much of his time among the natives, by whom, as well as by persons of every description in the colony, he lived beloved, and died lamented.*

After the departure of the eleven missionaries to Port Jackson, seven others still remained in Otaheite, namely, Messrs. Eyre, Jefferson, Lewis, Broomhall, Harris, Bicknell, and Nott. With the view of removing all temptation to do violence to their persons for the sake of their property, they immediately delivered up the blacksmith's shop, and the public store-room, into the hands of Pomare, and they at the same time offered to surrender to him their private effects if he desired it; but this he was so honourable as to decline.† Jealousy and fear, however, continued to haunt their minds; nor was it altogether without apparent reason. Reports of the people's design to attack and plunder them were constantly reaching their ears; attempts were even made, almost every night, to rob them of what few articles they still possessed; the natives were often extremely tumultuous in their behaviour, and now took liberties with them which they durst not before have used; rumours of war were likewise prevalent through the country: All these circumstances combined, could not fail to distress the missionaries, and to increase those fears which the human mind, in such a situation, is so naturally disposed to form. In a short time, indeed, war actually began. Pomare having killed two of the men of Opare, on account of the assault made on the four missionaries, the inhabitants of that district rose in arms to revenge their death. Peace was offered them, but they rejected the offer. The chief, therefore, attacked them without delay, drove them back to the mountains, laid waste their habitations, and killed about thirteen of them; after which they were glad to listen to terms of accommodation.‡

* Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 302. † Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 39.
‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 44, 47.

By degrees, the apprehensions of the missionaries subsided, as it appeared that the natives had no serious design to injure them, either in their persons or property. But when they began to enjoy peace from without, a circumstance occurred among themselves which occasioned them inexpressible distress. Mr. Lewis, who had of late resided by himself at a place called Ahonoo, declared his determination to take one of the native women as his wife. For some time past, indeed, his behaviour towards the Otaheitan females had been extremely indecent. Several of the missionaries had repeatedly spoken to him on the subject, in private, and they had likewise adverted to the impropriety of such practices in their public discourses. But as he had neglected or despised these early cautions, it was now in vain that they remonstrated with him on the impropriety and unlawfulness of the measure he proposed: and as a few months before, when this very question was agitated among them, it was agreed, that should any of their number connect himself with a Heathen woman, he should no longer be considered as a missionary, or as a member of the church, they not only refused to sanction his marriage, by performing the usual ceremony, but on the following day they proceeded to pass sentence of excommunication upon him. This certainly was a harsh and precipitate step. Of the unlawfulness of Mr. Lewis' proposal there can be no doubt, since it is contrary to the express injunctions of scripture; yet surely his brethren should have employed friendly expostulations with him in private, and church censures of a gentler nature, before they had recourse to so severe a sentence. Mr. Lewis had not yet, at least professedly, consummated his marriage; time, therefore, might have been allowed to elapse, to see whether he would proceed to such a measure. We cannot, indeed, but remark, that however culpable his conduct was, yet the behaviour of his brethren towards him appears to have been throughout unfeeling, ungenerous, and unkind; and afterwards, when he made some proposals for an accom-

modation with them, they by no means manifested that readiness to listen to them, which the spirit of Christianity required. They continued, indeed, to supply him with such articles as he desired, as far as was in their power; and it is proper also to add, that he, together with his wife, uniformly attended public worship on the Lord's day, and he was at the same time regular in attending to prayer, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures in private.*

In this state of excommunication from the church, Mr. Lewis was so unhappy as to remain until his death, which happened about the end of November 1799, nearly sixteen months after he was excluded by his brethren. It was sudden and unexpected, and the cause of it was never fully unravelled. After having ascertained the fact, some of the missionaries went to his habitation, and on their arrival they found his body dressed in a check shirt, a light waistcoat, a pair of trowsers, and shoes on his feet. It was lying on a bedstead, under the roof of his house, but not in his sleeping apartment, and was covered with a piece of country cloth. His forehead, his face, his belly, and his left arm, were severely bruised; a deep cut extended over one of the corners of his mouth, toward the nose; there was also a scratch or two on his hands, but no where any appearance of fracture. On turning him round, nothing like external violence was discovered on his back; but the blood gushed from his right ear as from a fountain, and a thin ichorous matter, of a dark brown colour, and a disagreeable smell, bubbled through his lips. His belly was prodigiously distended, and scarcely yielded to the greatest pressure; but in the small degree in which it did yield, it greatly increased the discharge from his mouth. Though he had been dead only about eighteen or nineteen hours, according to the account of the natives, the corpse was already extremely offensive.†

On examining into the circumstances of his death, the re-

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 125. † Ibid. 145, 149.

ports of the natives were very various and contradictory. One said, that like a man out of his senses, he ran against the boards of his room, first at one end, then at the other; next on one side, afterwards on the other; last of all, he ran out at the door, threw himself headlong among the stones, and so was killed. A second said, that he was ill and died in bed about the middle of the day. A third declared that he was not ill, but that he died suddenly. At first his wife, with whom he appears to have lived on very unhappy terms, and who displayed the utmost insensibility on this occasion, represented him as having killed himself by dashing his head against the stones. Afterwards, however, when more particularly questioned on the subject, she stated no such circumstance; but said, that after preparing for bed, he went to the door, and walked for some time up and down the pavement; at last, she heard him fall, and going out with a lamp, she found him fallen upon a stone, and the blood running from the wounds. Laying down the light, she ran for her parents, who lived at the distance of about twenty yards; and on her return with them, he was quite dead. Her testimony, indeed, was extremely suspicious, not only from the circumstance of this striking variation, but there was a man who appeared to act as her prompter, and at one time, after telling her what to say, turned to his companions, and said in a private manner: "That is one part, but say nothing about stones following." Other accounts, indeed, stated, that Mr. Lewis was killed by some of the natives; and upwards of a twelvemonth after it was expressly reported to the missionaries, that he was murdered by certain persons of the place where he resided, and on account of the woman with whom he had so unhappily connected himself. Though the evidence is certainly by no means decisive, yet we are strongly inclined to believe that Mr. Lewis fell a sacrifice to the treachery of the natives.*

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 147, 217.

Scarcely had six months elapsed after this melancholy event, when the missionaries in Otaheite met with a new and unexpected trial. Mr. Broomhall, one of their number, declared himself an infidel. For a considerable time past, indeed, a great want of spirituality had been observed in his prayers; and in his sermons, the name of Christ was scarcely so much as mentioned. After this change took place in his religious sentiments, he became intimate with a young woman, a visitor of Pomare's sister; though when urged by the natives to live with her, he told them he would not do so, till he had declared himself no priest; that is, that he was no longer a missionary. In vain did his brethren reason; in vain did they expostulate with him: Mr. Broomhall was proof against all their arguments, though he was so candid as to acknowledge that he now enjoyed far less happiness than formerly, when he possessed the supports and comforts of religion. The missionaries themselves, we suppose, must now have been sensible of the undue severity of their conduct to the unfortunate Mr. Lewis; in their treatment of Mr. Broomhall, at least, they acted with far less precipitation, and with far greater moderation. Finding him, however, obstinate in his infidel principles, they at length suspended him from all office in the church, and from the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; and as this had no salutary effect upon him, they afterwards passed sentence of excommunication upon him. For a considerable time past, there had been very suspicious circumstances with regard to him and some of the females of Otaheite; and immediately after his excommunication, he avowedly connected himself with one of them. He lived with her in the same house as the missionaries for a number of weeks; but as she then left him and slept with another man, he took a second mistress, with whom he cohabited until his departure from the island. Such were the moral effects, or probably such rather was the cause of his infidel principles.*

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 177. Evan. Mag.

In May 1800, before intelligence of these painful events could reach England, twelve new missionaries sailed for Otaheite in the Royal Admiral, a ship with convicts for New South Wales, commanded by captain William Wilson, who had been one of the mates of the Duff, in both her voyages to the Pacific Ocean. Scarcely had they left their native land, when they discovered that the prisoners brought with them had not only impaired constitutions, but the seeds of various diseases; and that now when so great a number as three hundred were crowded together, the prison became the nursery of these disorders. Besides flux and scurvy, a malignant putrid fever broke out among them, and spread most alarmingly, especially while they sailed through the torrid zone. During the voyage to Rio Janeiro, more than one half of the convicts, besides many of the sailors, were taken ill of this and other disorders; and the whole number who died on board the vessel, amounted to no fewer than forty, among whom, unfortunately, was Mr. Turner the surgeon. Near the latitude where the Duff was captured, they fell in with three French Frigates, and would no doubt have been taken by them, had not God in his providence inclined the commodore to accompany them to Rio Janeiro. On their arrival at that port, the fever disappeared; but it afterwards broke out again, not only among the convicts, but among the missionaries, most of whom caught it, and Mr. Morris, one of them, died. During the voyage the missionaries were not idle, but laboured, with great assiduity, in communicating religious instruction to the crew, and particularly to the unfortunate convicts. For sometime they daily went down to the orlop deck, the place where the miserable creatures were confined, and read and explained the Scriptures, conversed, and prayed with them; and though they were a body of ignorant hardened wretches, yet some of them appeared anxious for instruction, and two prayer meetings were established among them. Afterwards, when the fever increased and became so very alarming, the mis-

sionaries judged it inexpedient to visit them in prison; but they still embraced every opportunity of speaking to them on the subject of religion, when they were brought on deck to get the air.*

Having landed the convicts at Port Jackson, captain Wilson proceeded with the missionaries to Otaheite, where he arrived in the beginning of July 1801. Messrs. John Youl, James Elder, William Scott, John Davies, William Waters, Charles Wilson, James Hayward, and Samuel Tessier,† landed on the island, and met with a cordial reception, not only from their brethren, but from the chiefs and the people. Having met by appointment with Ottoo the king, Pomare, and others of the chiefs, captain Wilson spoke to them concerning the reasons which induced the missionaries originally to come among them, the reception they gave them on their arrival, and the benefits they had already derived from them: He mentioned a few instances in which the brethren had been ill-treated, and endeavoured to convince them how easy it would be for him to retaliate upon them; that these things were known in Britain; but the chiefs there, still wishing to do them good, had sent other men in the room of those whom their violence had driven away, and expected them to be better treated. Then taking each of the new missionaries by the hand, and leading them up to each of the chiefs, he introduced them by name. With this ceremony they were much pleased, and promised to protect and support them to the utmost of their power. Before he went away, However, Pomare inquired, Whether the new settlers would not fight for him? Captain Wilson replied, "No, they would fight none, unless in defending themselves in

* Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 255; vol. ix. p. 81, 490; vol. x. p. 73. Miss. Mag. vol. vi. p. 79.

† Twelve missionaries originally embarked in the Royal Admiral: but of these, one was left sick at Portsmouth; another died at Port Jackson; a third abandoned the mission at that place; and a fourth was taken back at the request of his brethren, on account of the spirit of insubordination which he manifested.—*Evan. Mag.* vol. x. p. 73, 283.

their own habitation." This appeared to sink their value not a little. However, the Chief replied, "Very well, if they would not fight, he would fight for them; but yet he thought it very strange that king George, who had so many fighting men, should send none to his assistance." Before the Royal Admiral left the island, the missionaries, who now amounted to thirteen, were organized into a regular body, and regulations were settled for the conduct of divine worship, of their daily employments, their visits to the natives, and a variety of other circumstances.*†

* Evan. Mag. vol. x. 283. Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 235, 241.

* Mr. Broomhall left Otaheite in the Royal Admiral, and on his arrival in China, remained in that country in quest of a situation. Concerning this unhappy young man, we heard nothing for several years. It appears, however, that he remained in the East, and went to sea, though in what capacity we do not know. He continued for a considerable time in a course of backsliding, yet still he was not without some degree of fear on account of the consequences. Several very alarming accidents at sea, and the breaking of his thigh at Madras, contributed to arouse him from this state of insensibility, and to fill him for a season, with dreadful apprehensions of divine wrath. He attempted to pray, but started from his knees, shocked at his own baseness, and despairing of obtaining mercy from that God whom he had so grievously offended. In fact, he considered himself as having nothing before him "but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and of fiery indignation to devour him." Having afterwards come to Calcutta, he more than once called on the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, without, however, revealing his proper name or his former character: and in a letter which he addressed to one of them in May 1809, he draws the following dreary picture of the melancholy state of his mind:

"I have been much engaged with my vessel of late; but the truth is, I have not known what to write. I might say something satisfactory, perhaps, of what was foreign to my feelings; but should I attempt to describe the state of my mind, I fear you would not be altogether pleased with the picture, unless you can look with pleasure upon a landscape, where the artist, in attempting to embellish the most prominent figures, had daubed it with such a collection of dark colours, that the whole piece was rendered odious. Such would be the description of my feelings. If I should say I feel daily aspirations of soul after God, yet I feel my passions chained to the earth, and my conduct such that it will not stand the test of Christianity! If prayer is at one time a delight, at others it is an intolerable burden; and though dreadfully convinced of its necessity, I can neglect it for days, almost without a sigh! I am convinced of the pleasure attending the study of the Holy Scriptures, and yet could read almost any thing in preference. I feel a pleasure in the worship of the Most High, and yet am abashed, and even uncomforta-

Though the missionaries had often been alarmed with rumours of war, yet hitherto no disturbances of a serious nature had occurred. But unhappily the tranquillity of the island was at length interrupted, in consequence of a dispute about Oroo, which though only a shapeless log of wood, the Otaheitans called their great god.* In April 1802, at a numerous meeting held in Attahoora; Ottoo the king, after having, in vain, demanded it from the inhabitants of that district, who had it in their possession, took it from them by force. Roused with indignation by this insult, the Attahoorans rose in rebellion against him, and being joined by

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 7. 54, 83, 89, 94, 210, &c.

ble in the presence of a Christian! I am perfectly convinced of the mercy that awaits a returning prodigal, and yet I think the glory of God is concerned in shutting up the avenues to it. In short, if the law of the Eternal renders it necessary that "the backslider shall be filled with his own ways," may not his justice withhold those powerful operations of the Holy Spirit, which are absolutely necessary for his return, while he keeps his conscience sufficiently awake to make him miserable? May not one in the situation now described, be deprived of every comfort, stripped of every grace, and through his folly in despising the favour of the Spirit, be suffered to proceed to the last hour of his existence, without enjoying these blessings? This letter must certainly appear strange to you; but if you had ever looked upon the Saviour as the *ultimatum* of your desires, and had really enjoyed experimental religion as a consequence, and yet afterwards had doubted of his existence—endeavoured to persuade yourself that the Bible was a forgery—the soul mortal—and, consequently, that there was no hereafter; whilst your conduct corresponded with your sentiments, you would not be much surprised at it."

Soon after he had written this letter, Mr. Broomhall was laid on a sick-bed at Calcutta, when, we are told, God revealed his mercy to him, softened his heart, removed those fears he felt lest his sins were unpardonable, and enabled him to hope that God would accept of him through the righteousness of Jesus Christ. Hitherto, he had said nothing of the situation he had held in Otaheite; but one day he called on Mr. Marshman, after some conversation about the state of his soul, he exclaimed, "You now behold an apostate missionary! I am Benjamin Broomhall, who left his brethren nine years ago. Is it possible you can now behold me without despising me?" Mr. Marshman's surprise at this discovery it is not easy to conceive, far less describe. It was now the wish of this returning prodigal to join his missionary Brethren in Otaheite; but for the present he went on another voyage, and since that time we have heard nothing of him.—*Auth. Nar. Evan. Mag.* vol. xviii. p. 288.

the inhabitants of several other districts, they were at first victorious in their battles with the royalists, whom they treated with the most wanton barbarity. In this exigency, Pomare obtained the assistance of some British seamen, from one or two ships that were then on the island; and though the rebels advanced boldly to the fight, yet they were quickly repulsed by the royalists; and no sooner did they discover the sailors, than they were overwhelmed with consternation, and fled in all directions. Seventeen of the enemy were killed on the spot, and among others, one of the ringleaders of the rebellion. The Attahoorans, however, were not discouraged, and still refused to submit; but, at length, contrary to all expectation, peace was concluded, and tranquillity restored throughout the island. During these commotions, the missionaries were under no small apprehension for their personal safety, and made the best arrangements they were able for their own defence, in case, they should have been attacked by the rebels. Even this subjected them to no inconsiderable loss; for they were under the necessity of destroying the inclosures of their gardens, the gardens themselves, and also their chapel, in order to clear the ground around them, and to prevent an unseen assault.*

Hitherto the missionaries had found the acquisition of the language attended with inexpressibly greater difficulties than were generally expected. All the vocabularies they had seen of it, were essentially defective and erroneous, not only in the fundamental principles of the grammar, but with regard to the pronunciation, orthography, and signification of the words. It was represented as uncommonly easy of acquisition; but they had found the contrary by long and sad experience. In respect of some of the common occurrences of life, a person of ordinary capacity may, indeed, soon make himself understood; but to acquire such a knowledge of it, as was necessary to convey instruction to them, and especially instruction of a religious nature, was a most arduous

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 64, 110.

task. It was described as barren of words, but neither was this correct. It is destitute, indeed, as might naturally be supposed, of all such terms as are common among civilized nations, relative to the arts and sciences, manufactories, commerce, &c ; but with regard to those objects, with which an Otaheitan is conversant, it is exceedingly copious. The simple roots, it is true, are only a few hundred in number; but these, few as they are, may, by the help of affixes and prefixes, be easily multiplied to five or six thousand, so as to express ideas with the utmost precision. In a vocabulary which the missionaries drew up with great care, there were two thousand one hundred words, exclusive of five hundred names of trees, plants, fishes, &c. and several hundred more expressive of the qualities and states of bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa nuts, &c. The Otaheitan language abounds with vowels, even in a greater degree than any navigator who had given specimens of it, ever imagined. Many words consist entirely of vowels, each of which has a distinct enunciation: but the rapidity with which the natives uttered them, rendered it extremely difficult to catch the precise sound. As a natural consequence of this structure of their words, vast numbers of them have nearly the same pronunciation, though widely different in sense; a circumstance which proves a source of no small embarrassment to a learner. Besides, the Otaheitans make frequent use of abbreviations, by which means the words were often so shortened, that the missionaries were extremely puzzled, and mistook them for new terms. The people too often adopted their erroneous pronunciation, as persons in every country are apt to do to children, and thus instead of correcting, confirmed them in their mistake. From these, and a variety of other circumstances, the progress of the missionaries in acquiring the language was extremely slow, and it was often no small task to unlearn what with great difficulty they had already learned.*

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 117, 135; vol. iii. p. 179.

Ever since their arrival on the island, the missionaries had endeavoured, by conversation and other easy means, to disseminate, among the natives, some knowledge of Christianity; but now the time arrived, when they were able to proclaim to them, "in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God." Just before the outbreaking of the rebellion, two of them made a circuit through the island, and preached the gospel in every district except Attahoora. The natives assembled to hear them, in companies of from twenty, to a hundred and sixty; and numbers of them listened with considerable attention, though others appeared extremely careless, and acted in a very disorderly manner.* After the suppression of the rebellion, the missionaries proceeded in their labours of love, and even extended them to the neighbouring island of Eimeo.† In some places the natives seemed pleased with what they heard, and said it was "good talk," but in other instances, they treated it with indifference and contempt, and appeared perfectly hardened in their evil ways. It was next to impossible to convince them of the value of their souls, or even to make them understand its particular nature, for most of them seemed to consider it as something without them, that resided in the other world, and visited them only at certain seasons, as in dreaming, &c.‡ One evil very prevalent among them was the taking of the names of Jehovah and Jesus Christ in vain, though they were cautioned against it in almost every discourse."§ One day, Mr. Jefferson heard some of them speaking in a familiar manner of Jesus Christ; but they asserted he was a God of no power, and that their idol Oroo was the mighty god. They, at the same time, affirmed, that the God of England was not good, in proof of which they alleged, the disorders introduced among them by our sailors, and the shipwreck of the Norfolk, a vessel which had been lately lost upon the island. One man in particular, of a most savage aspect, pointed at a deformed

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 57. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 123, 133.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii p. 126. § Ibid. vol. ii. p. 327.

person present, and protested that such things could not be the work of their own god Oroo, but of the evil god of England.* Indeed, they seldom failed wantonly to call on the missionaries to look on those who had broken backs, the ague, the flux, the venereal disease, &c. all of which, they alleged, came from England. In short, they attribute to us all their evils, and say that there are very few men left; nothing but stones remain, to use their own emphatic phraseology.†‡ The bodily diseases under which many of them groaned, instead of disposing them to embrace the gospel, irritated them against it; and, as if the missionaries had only been mocking them, they replied, "You tell us of salvation, and behold we are dying;" and when they were told it was the salvation of their souls from the wrath of God, not of their bodies from disease, in the present life, they answered, "We want no other salvation, but to live in this world."§ Often, too, when the missionaries exhorted them to turn

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 121. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 327.
§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 286.

‡ It is satisfactory to learn from the missionaries, that there is no good reason for thinking that all, or even the most, of these diseases were introduced into Otaheite by ships from England; and they suppose that the Otaheitans themselves did not believe it, though they often brought forward the charge. Captain Cook, they said brought the intermittent fever, the crooked backs, and the scrofula, which broke out in their necks, breasts, groins, and arm-pits; Vancouver the bloody-flux, which in a few months carried off great numbers of them, and then abated; and some alleged it was Bligh who brought the scrofula among them. The missionaries, however, assert, that they got no disease from England except the venereal disorder; and for that they have to blame their own women, as well as our sailors. As it is said neither Cook nor Vancouver had a sick person on board; the flux and fever, if this statement be correct, could not be introduced by them, nor did the missionaries know of any ship which had either of these diseases on board when at Otaheite; and as the intermittent fever, which is the most common and most fatal of their disorders, is not an infectious disease, but arises from the effluvia of marshes; it could not have been communicated by contagion from any of our sailors, even if they had been labouring under it. With regard to the crooked backs, the Otaheitans themselves allow that they are the effect of the Hotatte, a disease very prevalent on the island, and which could not come from England, as it does not prevail in this country.—*Miss. Trans.* vol. ii. p. 120, 349.

from their vanities, and to worship the true God, they asked, Whether any of the chiefs had believed, and turned to Jehovah? They frequently mentioned Pomare's killing men for sacrifices to their idols, and told them to go and preach to him and the king.* Besides, they said, that if they embraced the Christian religion, their own gods would kill them.† Many of them, indeed, obtained considerable knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel; but their hearts remained unsanctified, and their conduct unreformed. They were wonderfully bigotted to their own superstition and idolatry; and though they sometimes acknowledged that they were fools and knew nothing, yet they quickly had recourse to their vain delusions, and by means of these refuges of lies, smothered the convictions of their consciences.‡ Hence, it often happened, that when, at one time, the missionaries met with any encouragement among them, the very next time they visited them they were more discouraged than ever.§¶

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p 327. † Ibid. vol. ii, p. 338.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 287. § Ibid. vol. ii. p. 303.

¶ In September 1802, the ship Margaret, on board of which a Mr. Turnbull was surgeon, arrived at Otaheite, and as he resided for several months on the island, he had ample opportunities of observing the character and conduct of the missionaries. On his return to England, he published an account of his voyage in three small volumes; and we think it no more than a piece of justice to these good men, to make a few extracts from that work, in testimony of their diligence and zeal in prosecuting the great object of their mission.

"We cannot omit in this place," says Mr. Turnbull, to do justice to the amiable manners, and truly Christian deportment of these men, who, like the apostles of old, foregoing all the comforts of civilized life, and a life at least of tranquillity in their native land, have performed a voyage equal to the circumnavigation of the globe, and, like the dove of the ark, carried the Christian olive over the world of waters. Their life is a life of contest, hardship, and disappointment: Like their holy Master, they have to preach to the deaf, and exhibit their works to the blind."—*Turnbull's Voyage round the World in the years* 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, vol. i. p. 165.

"It may be satisfactory to the friends of the missionaries to learn, that their prayer meetings and public ordinances, were constantly kept up, the morning and afternoon of every day, and on Sundays three times a day. The natives, however, did not attend. The breth-

In September 1803, Pomare, the father of the king, died very suddenly. One day after dinner, he and two of his men got into a single canoe, and paddled towards the brig Dart, a vessel from London, which was then lying off the island. When they had almost reached her, the chief suddenly felt a pain in his back, which caused him to raise himself with a jerk, and put his hand to the place that was affected; but no sooner had he done this, than he fell with his

ren took it by turns to visit all the parts of the island within their reach that day. The preaching, or rather the example, of the missionaries, is not, however, wholly without effect. The Sabbath is called by the natives the day of God; and however little attention they, in every other respect, pay to religion, their conduct in the immediate neighbourhood of Matavai, on this day, is more sedate and orderly than on any other. The missionaries have, doubtless, gained a small victory over them in this point, as likewise in another of still greater consequence. The greater part of their former obscenity in their public dances has disappeared, and in the neighbourhood of Matavai, the Sunday has something of the semblance of a Christian Sabbath."—*Ib.* vol. iii. p. 5, 6.

"The missionaries, indeed, neglect nothing to render their mission successful. On every Sabbath day, they range the country, two by two, in different directions. But I repeat, that I fear their efforts will for a long time be unsuccessful. They consider the missionaries as very good men, and love and esteem them accordingly; but they do not comprehend, therefore do not believe the articles of their religion."—*Ib.* vol. iii. p. 8.

"The missionaries had made the circuit of the island twice during the time we were amongst them, preaching from district to district, and seconding their exhortations by presents. If zeal in the discharge of their duty could insure success; the missionaries would not preach in vain."—*Ib.* vol. iii. p. 15.

"They apparently lived together in the greatest love and harmony, and all of them present an example of industry. Their situation, however, is by no means so comfortable, as many of our countrymen may be inclined to imagine; for as their stock of European articles decreases, they must proportionally lose their influence over the natives."—*Ib.* vol. iii. p. 18.

"The natives respect the missionaries, and in some points of view regard them with astonishment. Their comparative purity of manners, their indifference to their women, and their peaceable upright deportment, are subjects of their wonder; and as their minds unfold to the knowledge of morals, they will continue to increase in their esteem and love for these men."—*Ib.* vol. iii. p. 21. Such is the honourable testimony which Mr. Turnbull bears to the character and conduct of the missionaries in Otaheite. The facts he states, we believe, are correct, though we cannot subscribe to all the opinions he expresses.

face to the bottom of the canoe, and never spoke more.* As Pomare was a warm and steadfast friend of the missionaries, especially at first, it may not be improper to give a short sketch of his history and character.

Pomare was born in Opare, and by birth was the chief of that district only; but by his own superior talents, together with the assistance of the deserters from the various ships which visited Otaheite, particularly the crew of the Bounty, he raised himself to a kind of sovereignty over the whole island. With regard to his personal qualities, he was a savage of unusual grace and dignity; tall, stout, well proportioned. There was something in his appearance which indicated him to be no ordinary man; grave in his countenance, majestic in his deportment, engaging in his manners; but under the appearance of candour, he concealed no small degree of hypocrisy. In prosperity, he was insufferably proud toward his enemies; in adversity, he was no less dejected in his own mind.† As a governor he was extremely oppressive; but yet it was generally allowed that the island had enjoyed a far greater degree of tranquillity during his reign, than while the several districts were independent of each other. Perhaps, however, the most remarkable trait in his character was a species of prudence and foresight, rarely found among savages; a mind which was capable of forming certain plans, and of adhering to them, with a view to the distant advantages which would result from them. Erecting houses, building canoes, and cultivating the ground, were favourite employments with him; and the works of this description which he accomplished, place his talents and power in a very extraordinary light. His conduct to such Europeans as visited the island, and the countenance he gave the missionaries in particular, were the effects of this political foresight. Resisting, in the first instance, that natural impulse which would have tempted a savage to plunder them

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 147, 292.

† Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 295. Turnbull's Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 236.

without delay, he encouraged them to settle on the island, in the hope that he himself and his country would ultimately reap greater and more permanent advantages from them.

But though Pomare was the friend of the missionaries, he was at the same time the very soul of the superstition of his own country. Many were the marais and altars reared at his command all over the island; and besides innumerable costly gifts of canoes, clothes, &c. he was perpetually offering up human sacrifices to propitiate the wrath of his idols.* Mr. Elder, one of the missionaries, supposes, that the persons he had murdered for this purpose might not be fewer than two thousand.† On the whole, as the Otaheitans conceived Pomare to have been the greatest chief they ever had, so he certainly did not leave his equal on the island.‡

Besides preaching the gospel throughout the island, the missionaries, especially Mr. Davies, now began to pay particular attention to the instruction of the children, in the hope that some serious impression might be made on their young and tender minds. The number who in various places submitted to be catechised was, on the whole, considerable, and the progress which they made was as great as could reasonably be expected. This exercise, however, though highly important, was attended with many difficulties, some of which it may not be improper to mention.

First, There was no way of collecting any number of children together. It was necessary to go to the several places, or houses where they were; to take one here, another there, and two perhaps in a third place. They often refused to go even twenty or thirty yards to meet with others, a circumstance which consumed much time, and materially diminished the utility of the exercise.§

Secondly, To find convenient time was no easy matter. After the novelty of the catechising was over, every little

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 295. Turnbull's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 236.

† Religious Monitor, vol. ii. p. 313.

‡ Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 297. § Ibid. vol. ii. p. 306, 315.

engagement was deemed an apology for neglecting it. Sometimes all were fishing, or they were in the mountains seeking plantains; at other times they were gathering breadfruit, or preparing their ovens, or else there was some diversion going on in the neighbourhood. To try to teach them at such seasons was a fruitless attempt.*

Thirdly, To obtain a suitable place was extremely difficult. It was very rare to find the children alone, some of the old people being usually at hand. This would have been an advantage, if they would have listened with attention; but instead of this, they commonly kept up an incessant chattering among themselves, or with the children, so that often nothing could be done for noise and clamour. At other times, they would sit close to the children, and whisper in their ears the most nonsensical and ridiculous answers, with the view of affording diversion to the company. Such of the children as were come any length, they endeavoured to put to shame, by mocking and laughing at them. Besides, they frequently contradicted whatever was said, and spoke of Jehovah and of Jesus Christ in the most contemptuous manner.†

Fourthly, The wandering disposition of the young, as well as of the old, was no small bar to their improvement. In Otaheite, every child able to climb an ooroo or a cocoa tree, is independent of its parents, and wanders wherever it pleases, without regard to them or any of its friends. Hence, they rarely remained long enough in one place, to learn any thing to purpose; the same children could seldom be catechised twice successively; and as they were often absent for a fortnight or three weeks together, they usually forgot much of what they had learned by the time they returned.‡

Lastly, Both the old people and the young had an idea that the missionaries were their debtors, and ought to pay them for submitting to instruction. Instigated by their parents, the children used often to say to their teachers, "You

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 306. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 306, 315.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 307, 315.

come here frequently, but what do you bring us? Give us pins, beads, and fish-hooks, or else we will not be taught." Being disappointed of presents, (for the missionaries had none to give,) they became more shy, and some, when they saw their teachers coming, would run away and conceal themselves till they were past.*

But notwithstanding these various obstacles, Mr. Davies and others of the missionaries persevered in their catechetical labours among the children; and could their young pupils have been instructed more frequently, and by themselves, there is no doubt they would, in a short time, have made considerable progress in Christian knowledge. Many of them, even as it was, learned the whole of the catechism, which the missionaries had written in the Otaheitan language; and numbers of them continued to retain what they had been taught, after they had been absent for several months.†

Besides catechising the children throughout the island, Mr. Davies opened a school for teaching the boys and young men to read, who attended the missionaries as servants, and resided near their habitation. The attempt succeeded much better than was expected. The youths, in general, seemed very desirous to learn, and even asked Mr. Davies to meet with them more frequently, a request with which he was happy to comply. Encouraged by these agreeable circumstances, he composed a short spelling-book in the Otaheitan language for the instruction of youth; and a copy of it, together with the catechism, &c. having been sent to the Missionary Society, they were both printed in London.‡ Besides this little work, the missionaries transmitted to the directors the vocabulary which they had drawn up of the language, together with an essay towards an Otaheitan English grammar.§ They also agreed to write some Forms of

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 307, 315. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 321.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 190, 278, 282. § Report of the Missionary Society, 1808, p. 10.

Prayer, a Sketch of Scripture History, and some other small pieces for the use of the natives.*

Not long after the missionaries settled in Otaheite, Otoo, the king, begged one of them to teach him the Hebrew language, and asked, at the same time, Whether the king of England was acquainted with it? What had excited in his mind this strange desire, it is not easy to conjecture, unless, perhaps, the singular appearance of the Hebrew characters had caught his fancy.† He now however, made an acquisition, which to him was of a most useful and substantial nature, having learned from the missionaries to read and write his own language. Of this we have an interesting specimen, in a letter which he addressed in January 1807, to the Missionary Society, in reply to an epistle which they had written to him: It was composed entirely by himself in the Otaheitan language, was then translated by the missionaries into English, and of this the king wrote the following copy:

Matavai, Otaheite, January 1*st.* 1807.

FRIENDS,

I wish you every blessing, friends, in your residence in your country, with success in teaching this bad land, this foolish land, this wicked land; this land which is ignorant of good, this land that knoweth not the true God, this regardless land.

Friends, I wish you health and prosperity: May I also live, and may Jehovah save us all.

Friends, with respect to your letter you wrote to me, I have this to say to you, that your business with me and your wishes, I fully consent to, and shall consequently banish Oroo, and send him to Raeatea.

Friends, I do therefore believe and shall obey your word.

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 190. † Ibid. vol i. p. 51.

Friends, I hope you also will consent to my request, which is this: I wish you to send a great number of men, women, and children here.

Friends, send also property and cloth for us, and we also will adopt English customs.*

Friends, send also plenty of muskets and powder, for wars are frequent in our country. Should I be killed, you will have nothing in Tahete: Do not come here when I am dead. Tahete is a regardless country; and should I die with sickness, do not come here. This also I wish, that you would send me all the curious things that you have in England. Also send me every thing necessary for writing; paper, ink, and pens, in abundance; Let no writing utensil be wanting.

Friends, I have done, and have nothing at all more to ask you for. As for your desire to instruct Tahete, 'tis what I fully acquiesce in. 'Tis a common thing for people not to understand at first; but your object is good, and I fully consent to it, and shall cast off all evil customs.

What I say is truth, and no lie; it is the real truth.

This is all I have to write; I have done.

* The Otaheitans now carried the affectation of English dress so far, that they would give almost any price for an old black or blue coat and a shirt. No man thought he could go before the king on public occasions with any appearance of consequence, unless he had a musket, a coat, and a shirt; or, at least, a coat to accompany his musket. Some of them, it may easily be supposed, would make very grotesque figures. Their regard to England was manifested by other circumstances. Among other ceremonies which took place on the king's return from Eimeo, where he had been for some time; was the sending of a piece of cloth and a small hog to the missionaries as a present for king George. On all public occasions, the names of the principal chiefs are called over, and something given for each of them: if they are not there themselves, some person answers in their name, and receives the present. Ever since the time of captain Cook, his Britannic majesty has had the honour of having his name added to the list; and when it is called, if any Englishman be there, he answers and receives the present; if there are none, it is given to the natives. *Miss. Trans.* vol. iii. p. 170, 172.

Friends, write to me that I may know what you have to say.

I wish you life and every blessing.

May I also live, and may Jehovah save us all.

POMARE, king of Tahaite, &c.*¶

For my Friends,
the Missionary Society, London.

But though the king shewed the missionaries the utmost respect and friendship, at least since his father's death, and learned from them to read and write, he manifested no disposition to embrace the gospel. He was even averse to religious instruction; and whenever the subject was introduced, endeavoured artfully to evade it.†

Of late years, great quantities of muskets and gun-powder had been introduced into Otaheite by the various ships which visited the island: they were, in fact, the principal articles which they bartered with the natives. The missionaries had long expected that this would at length give rise to a civil war, especially as the king was resolved to have all the muskets into his own hands, and the people were no less determined to retain them: a considerable party was already formed against him, and matters appeared for several years to be drawing to some great crisis.‡ The storm, however, had been averted so long, that the missionaries had almost begun to flatter themselves with the continuance of peace; when, in October 1808, they received a letter from the king, informing them, that it was likely the island would soon be involved in war, and warning them to be on their guard.§

On receiving this intelligence, the missionaries wrote the king, earnestly exhorting him to peace, and expressing ap-

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 175.
† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 37, 188.
‡ Ibid. voli iii. p. 36.
§ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 332.

¶ A fac-simile of this letter may be found in volume third of the Missionary Transactions. The characters are well formed, and the whole is written with considerable neatness and ease.

prehensions for their own safety if war should ensue. From this period, however, the alarm became general; the rebel party daily increased in numbers and in strength; and it seemed as if hostilities would immediately commence. Meanwhile, the brig Perseverance, from Port Jackson, anchored in Matavai bay; and Pomare, notwithstanding his strong attachment to the missionaries, advised them, especially the married brethren, to consult their own safety, by embracing this opportunity of leaving the island. At one time, indeed, he himself intended to quit Otaheite, and actually obtained a passage in this vessel to Huaheine, an island about sixteen leagues distant; but afterwards he changed his mind, apprehending he would by this means lose all his authority at home: "Perhaps, however," said he, "the people may ere long cut off my head, as the people of France treated their king;" for it seems this tragical event is not unknown even in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Agreeably to the advice of the king, the missionaries came to a resolution to leave the island; but on learning that he had determined to stay, it was agreed that some of the unmarried brethren should remain with him; a circumstance which appeared to afford him great satisfaction. Messrs. Hayward, Nott, Wilson, and Scott, accordingly stopped with Pomare, while the other missionaries sailed in the ship Perseverence to Huaheine, where they arrived the very next day.*

For some weeks after the departure of the missionaries, there was a cessation of hostilities between Pomare and the rebels; but the king, infatuated by one of his false prophets, ventured at length to attack them; and as they had the advantage not only in respect of numbers, but of ground, his party was repulsed, some of his principal warriors slain, and numbers of muskets taken by the enemy. Encouraged by this success, the rebels now overran the country, and committed terrible devastations. The houses of the missionaries were burnt; their gardens laid waste; their plantations

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 332.

demolished; their cattle seized; and the rest of their property plundered. On receiving intelligence of Pomare's defeat, the missionaries who still remained on the island sailed to Eimeo: the king himself followed them in about three weeks; and, after some time, all of them, excepting Mr. Nott, who retired to Huaheine. Pomare afterwards returned to Otaheite and engaged the rebels; but was again defeated with the loss of twenty-four of his warriors, so that he was now obliged to act only on the defensive, until he should receive some reinforcements which he expected.*

Considering these various circumstances; the war in Otaheite; the destruction of their houses; the loss of their property; the improbability of Pomare's restoration; the terrible slaughter which was likely to take place before the establishment of peace and tranquillity, even though he should eventually be restored, the missionaries came to a resolution to embrace the first opportunity of leaving Huaheine, and to return to the colony of New South Wales. When, therefore, the brig Hibernia touched at that island, together with the Venus schooner, they agreed with the captain to convey them to Port Jackson. Having all embarked on board the Hibernia, (with the exception of Mr. Hayward, who was resolved to remain at Huaheine, where he was shortly after joined by Mr. Nott,) they sailed from that island in October 1809, and after a tedious and dangerous passage, in the course of which they were nearly shipwrecked among the Feegee islands, they arrived at New South Wales in February 1810. Here they met with a kind reception, both from his excellency governor Macquarrie, and from the Rev. Mr. Marsden, who soon after returned from England to the colony. By their exertions, the missionaries had their wants for the present supplied, and were provided with the means of supporting themselves in useful and respectable situations.†

The missionaries, however, had not been long in New South Wales, when several of them were desirous to return,

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii p. 335. † bid. vol. iii. p. 329, 336.

and to resume their labours in that island, cheerless as was the prospect before them: The king wrote several letters in the most affectionate strain, intreating them to come back, and expressing the deepest sorrow at their absence. Peace, too, was now re-established in the island, and the authority of Pomare was again acknowledged. Accordingly, in July 1811, Messrs. Bicknell and Scott, with their wives, whom they had lately married, sailed in a small schooner which was bound for Otaheite to take in pork; and a few weeks after Messrs. Henry Davies and Wilson, who could not be accommodated in that vessel embarked on board another ship. Messrs. Eyre, Tessier, and Elder, remained in New South Wales, and we doubt not will endeavour to render themselves useful in that colony.*

Since the return of the missionaries to the South Sea islands, the prospects of the mission have materially improved. At Eimeo, where they took up their residence for the present, they have begun a school for the instruction of youth, and they intended, as soon as it was practicable, to model it upon the Lancasterian plan. By the last accounts, they had upwards of twenty scholars, and they hoped that the number would soon be increased. There were several of the natives, in whose hearts a work of grace appeared to be begun, and there seems even ground to think that some had died in the Lord. Among those who appear to be under serious impressions of religion, is Pomare, the king of Otaheite, a circumstance which may ultimately prove of the greatest advantage to that island, and which is the more extraordinary, considering the rooted aversion which he had previously manifested to the gospel. In July 1812, he came to the missionaries, and offered himself as a candidate for Christian baptism, declaring that it was his fixed determination to cleave to Jehovah the true God, and expressing his desire to be further instructed in the things of God. This resolution, he gave them to understand, was the result of long

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 387.

and increasing conviction of the truth and excellence of the gospel. On the missionaries informing him that it was customary for those who offered themselves as candidates for baptism from among the Heathen, to be further instructed for some time in the truths of religion, and their conduct carefully inspected, that it might be known whether they had truly forsaken every evil way; he appeared to approve of this, observing, that he was willing to do as they thought proper, and that he left the time of his baptism entirely to to them. For the present, however, he was obliged to remove to Otaheite, a circumstance which they greatly regretted, as it deprived him of the means of instruction, excepting by letter, and exposed him to many and powerful temptations. It appears, however, that he strictly observed the Sabbath, and made an open profession of Christianity before the chiefs and people; in consequence of which, he has already experienced a considerable degree of persecution, notwithstanding the high rank he holds on the island.*

To enable our readers to form a judgment of the state of Pomare's mind, we shall subjoin some extracts from letters which he lately addressed to the missionaries:

"May Jehovah and Jesus Christ, may the Three One, our only trust and Saviour, bless you! May my soul be saved by Jesus Christ! May the anger of Jehovah towards me be appeased, who am a wicked man, guilty of accumulated crimes, of regardlessness, and ignorance of the true God, and of an obstinate perseverence in wickedness! May Jehovah also pardon my foolishness, unbelief, and rejection of the truth! May Jehovah give me his good spirit, to sanctify my heart, that I may love what is good, and that I may be enabled to put away all my evil customs, and become one of his people, and be saved through Jesus Christ, our only Saviour. You, indeed will be saved, you are become the people of God; but I may be banished to hell; God may not regard me; I am a wicked man, and my sins are great and accumu-

* Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 474.

lated. But O that we may all be saved through Jesus Christ. May the anger of God towards us all be appeased, for all of us have been disobedient to him as our Lord and Master. Look at the beasts; they are all obedient to him as their lord and master; but we have not obeyed our Lord and Master. Surely we are fools!"

After mentioning that he had been taken ill a few days before, he adds: "My affliction is great; but if I can only obtain the favour of God before I die, I shall count myself well off. But oh! should I die with my sins unpardoned, it will be ill indeed with me. Oh! may my sins be pardoned, and my soul saved through Jesus Christ, and may Jehovah regard me before I die, and then I shall rejoice because I have obtained the favour of Jehovah."

"I continue," says he, in another letter, "to pray to God without ceasing. Regardless of other things, I am concerned only that my soul may be saved by Jesus Christ! It is my earnest desire, that I may become one of Jehovah's people; and that God may turn away his anger from me, which I deserve for my wickedness, my ignorance of him, and my accumulated crimes.

If God were to create all mankind anew, then they would be good. This is my earnest desire, that God would enable me from my heart to love that which is good, and to abhor that which is evil, and that I may be saved by Jesus Christ. My dear friends, write to me that I may know your minds. May Jehovah and Jesus Christ our Saviour bless you!"*

From these letters, we think it is evident that Pomare is under deep convictions of his sinfulness and misery; and we earnestly hope that they will issue in his sincere conversion to the Christian faith. By the last accounts peace was restored in Otaheite; but it does not appear to rest on a very solid foundation; nor does his authority seem to be well established on the island.†

* Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 476. † Ibid. vol. xxi. p. 475, 477.

ARTICLE II.

Tongataboo.*

IN March 1797, captain Wilson, after settling the first missionaries in Otaheite, sailed for Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands, with the view of forming a similar establishment in that country. After a voyage of about a fortnight, the Duff arrived at Tongataboo, and before she could well come to anchor, she was surrounded by numbers of the natives, who flocked to her, not only from that, but from the neighbouring islands. In a short time, two Europeans came on board, named Benjamin Ambler, who professed to be a native of London, and John Connelly, who said he was born at Cork. It soon appeared that they were base worthless

* Tongataboo is about 20 leagues in circuit, and nearly triangular in form. Its northern side is indented by a large bay, which communicates with an extensive lagoon within the island. The shore in this part is low and sandy; but ascends on the other sides of the island in a perpendicular coral rock, from seven to ten feet above the sea at flood tide. The interior is diversified by many gentle rising grounds. The vegetable productions are similar to those of Otaheite, the cocoa nut being in greater perfection, the bread-fruit in less, than at the more lofty islands.

Tongataboo is divided into three large districts, viz. Aheefo, at the northwest end; Mooa, the middle district; and Ahogee, situate at the southeast part, each governed by a chief, who reigns with absolute authority, and claims a right of disposal over the lives and property of his own subjects, which is exercised most despotically. These districts are subdivided into many smaller ones, which have each their respective chiefs presiding over them, who exercise the same authority as the superior chiefs, to whom they are nevertheless, in some cases, accountable: so that the whole resemble the ancient feudal system of Europe.

The people fully answer to the most favourable representations the world has ever received of them; their bounty and liberality to strangers is very great, and their generosity to one another unequalled.—The murder of children, and other horrid practices, which prevail among the Otaheitans, are unheard of here. Their children are much indulged, and old age honored and revered.

Smith's Journal, p. 152, 153.

This island is in lat. 21° 9′ S. and long. 174° 46′ W.

Malham's Naval Gazetteer, vol. ii.

fellows; and though they pretended that they were sailors who had left an American vessel which touched at Tongataboo, it is more likely they were convicts, who had escaped from New South Wales, and secreted themselves on this island, where they could indulge, without restraint, in those habits of idleness and profligacy to which they were addicted. Bad, however, as they were, it was deemed expedient to employ them as a medium of intercourse with the chiefs, in behalf of the missionaries, particularly in explaining the nature of their undertaking, and their desire to settle on the island.*

Engaged by handsome presents, Ambler and Connelly went to Moomooe, the Dugona or principal chief of the island; and having impressed him with a favourable opinion of the missionaries, they returned the next morning with a present of three hogs and some yams from the old man, and informed them that he himself intended soon to follow. Accordingly, it was not long before the venerable chief made his appearance, with upwards of twenty attendants; and as they expressed great admiration of the cabin and its furniture, particularly the looking-glasses, chairs and table, they were informed that the men who had come to settle upon the island could teach them to make such useful articles; a circumstance which seemed to transport them with joy.—Captain Wilson embraced this opportunity of mentioning every circumstance which could raise in their minds a high idea of the missionaries, and asked Moomooe whether he was willing that they should settle upon the island, and what provision he would make for them. To this the chief replied, that they should have a house near his own, until one more suitable could be provided; that they should have a piece of land for their use; and that he would take care that neither their persons nor their property should be molested. There were, however, various objections to settling in the

* Miss. Voyage. p. 92, 96. Auth. Nar. p. 68.

place he proposed. Several others of the chiefs, indeed, were anxious that some of the missionaries should come and live with them; but as it was thought most expedient that they should keep together in a body, at least for the present, it was agreed that they should all live with Toogahowe, who was considered as the most powerful and warlike chief on the island, and as likely to be the successor of the aged Dugona, who seemed now on the brink of the grave.—Agreeably to this arrangement, the following ten missionaries, Messrs. Daniel Bowell, John Buchanan, James Cooper, S. Gaulton, Samuel Harper, Seth Kelso, Isaac Nobbs,* William Shelly, James Wilkinson, and George Veeson, landed on the island, and took up their residence at Aheifo, under the protection of that powerful chief.†

Having seen the missionaries settled in this favourable situation, and on the most friendly terms with the chiefs and the people, captain Wilson prepared to take his departure from the island. Scarcely had he sailed when a tremendous gale arose, and the mountainous billows quickly tossed the vessel along the ocean. The missionaries watched her labouring amidst the waves, till she sunk in the horizon from their view. A sigh of sadness then arose, some tears of regret fell from their eyes, whilst they looked round on the island, far distant from the regions of civilized life, as the scene where they were to pass and to end their days: "This," said they to each other, "is the ground where our bodies will moulder into dust; this we must now consider as our country and our grave." But they were ten in number, all social and friendly, all of similar sentiments, all united in zeal for the honour of the Redeemer, all glowing with concern for the salvation of the kind but ignorant inhabitants of the island. These circumstances contributed not a little to soothe and support their minds on this trying occasion.‡

† Miss Voyage, p. 99. Auth. Nar. p. 69. ‡ Ibid, p. 74.

* Nobbs, returned with the Duff on account of the state of his health.

After the departure of the Duff, the natives came in great numbers to visit the missionaries, to pay their respects to them, and to gratify their own curiosity. None of them, however, came without considerable presents of cloth, roasted pigs, bunches of plantains, or strings of cocoa-nuts. The chiefs and the people appeared to vie with each other in shewing them respect and attention. The presents of bales of cloth and mats which were brought them, were at length so numerous, that the missionaries had not room to deposit them; nor was the cloth so contemptible as some may imagine. It was made of the inner barks of trees, moulded, battered, and spread in such a manner as to form a fine stout article, which when fringed with white, constituted not only a becoming but an elegant dress.*

In return for their kindness, the missionaries made them as many presents as their stock of articles would afford, particularly the chief under whose protection they lived. They always treated their visitors with the utmost attention, and were most assiduous in gratifying their curiosity. Having fixed up a cuckoo clock, it was viewed by the natives with the utmost astonishment, even before it was put in motion; but their wonder was increased a thousand fold, when, on its being set a going, the bird came out, crying, "cuckoo, cuckoo." Such was their wonder, that, for sometime, they could not take their eyes off it; then they looked at each other, dumb with astonishment, and at length withdrew in perfect amazement. The news of this wonderful curiosity, quickly spread over the whole island. It was reported that the missionaries had got *Accoulair*, that is, "wood that speaks." The numerous visitors which it attracted completely occupied them from early in the morning, till late in the evening; and at length they multiplied so greatly, that it was necessary to refuse admittance to many of them.†

Among their many visitors, was Duatonga, who, in re-

* Auth. Nar. p. 75. † Ibid. p. 76.

spect of power, was the second chief in the island. As he was highly delighted with the cuckoo clock, the missionaries, who had several of them, were happy to have an opportunity of gratifying him with so acceptable a present. Having carried it home with him, he was prompted by curiosity to examine the inside, and readily succeeded in taking it to pieces; but he had not skill to put it together again. He then sent for the missionaries to mend it. They made the attempt, but being unacquainted with the mechanism of a clock, they were equally unsuccessful. This circumstance lessened them not a little in the eyes of the natives, and brought down upon them a great deal of ridicule; while, at the same time, it flattered the natural vanity of the Tongas, who now prided themselves in the idea that they were at least as skilful as "the men of the sky."*†

But while the missionaries were, in general, treated with the utmost attention and respect by the natives, they met with no small trouble and molestation from their own countrymen. No sooner had the Duff sailed from Tongataboo, than Ambler and Connelly, together with a fellow of the name of Morgan, one of their companions, who was on a neighbouring island, began to harass them. The conduct of the missionaries, so opposite to their abandoned habits, provoked their enmity; the goods they possessed excited their avarice. The ruffians had already obtained from them a variety of articles to a considerable amount; but their applications at length, became so frequent and so extravagant, as to be altogether intolerable, and it became absolutely necessary to refuse them. Not discouraged by this, they now, with the utmost impudence, demanded the goods as their right; and one day they entered the habitation of the mis-

† Authentic Narrative, p. 78.

* The natives called them "the men of the sky," because, as they observed, that the sky appeared to touch the ocean in the distant horizon, and as they knew that the missionaries came from an immense distance, they naturally enough concluded, that they must have come through the sky to arrive at Tongataboo. *Auth. Nar.* p. 95.

sionaries by force, with the view of carrying off their property. One of them ran up to Kelso and struck him; the other assaulted another of the missionaries; but being overpowered by numbers, they were soon driven from the place.—They went away breathing forth dreadful imprecations, and threatening that they would inflame the natives against them, and that not one of them should be left alive until the morning. Had they possessed much authority with the Tongas, there is little doubt the whole of the missionaries would have been sacrificed to their malice; but their infamous conduct had rendered them so unpopular, that they had little influence with the natives.*

The missionaries, however, were much alarmed by their proceedings; and partly for this reason, partly on account of the little progress they made in the language while living together, and partly as they heard various reports of the designs of the chiefs to attack them and seize their property, they came to a resolution to separate, and to take up their residence in small parties with different chiefs. Three of them accordingly remained at Aheefo, under the protection of Toogahowe, who was now the Dugona or principal chief of the island, in consequence of his father's death; two went to Mooa, to live with Duatonga; two to Ardeo, to reside with Vargee; one took up his abode at Ahogee with Moree; and one with a chief of the name of Mulkaamair.†

Before leaving the Pacific Ocean, captain Wilson returned in the Duff, to Tongataboo,‡ with the view of learning the situation of the missionaries, the treatment they had received from the natives during his absence, and the prospects of

* Auth. Nar. p. 80.

† Auth. Nar. p. 81. Miss. Voyage, p. 249, 255. Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 256.

‡ Nothing particularly occurred in the course of this second voyage from Otaheite, except the following circumstance, which exhibits an interesting picture of the workings of paternal affection, even in the rudest and most ignorant ranks of society. As the Duff sailed by Huaheine, several canoes came along side, in one of which was an

success on the island. He was happy to hear of the kindness and respect with which the Tongas had in general treated them; but the accounts he had received of Ambler, Connelly, and Morgan, determined him, if possible, to carry them off the island, that so they might create the missionaries no further uneasiness. Connelly he seized, but Ambler and Morgan learning his design, made their escape. One day, Veeson the missionary, accompanied by several men from the ship, proceeded, well armed, to the place of their retreat. After searching for them in vain, night came on, when Veeson, happening to advance from the field before the rest, up a narrow lane, met with some of the natives, and asked them if they had seen Ambler. Without making him any reply, they seized him, and held him fast with his arms behind his body; then they dragged him forward along the lane, and threw him on his back. Whilst two or

Irishman named Connar, one of the crew of the Matilda, a vessel which had been wrecked about 1792. To the astonishment of the captain and his men, he had forgotton his native tongue so completely, that he was able to recollect only a few words, and if he began a sentence in English, he was obliged to finish it in the language of the islanders.—He had even forgot the time that had elapsed since he was shipwrecked, but supposed it was eight years, whereas it was only about five. Having obtained from captain Wilson a passage to England, he went ashore to take farewell of his wife and child. His wife he treated with the utmost indifference, and, indeed, he had declared, he did not care what became of her; but when he took in his arms the child, a most beautiful infant, about eight or nine months old, the tears glistened in his eyes, and he seemed now to hesitate whether to remain in a situation where he was in perpetual jeopardy of his life, or by extricating himself from it, to leave behind him his beloved daughter in the hands of savages. Persisting, however, in his first resolution, he embarked in the canoe, accompanied by his wife and his lovely infant.—By the way she was asked whether she would not part with the child? "No," she replied, "not for any thing." As several chiefs and other natives were on board the Duff, it was some time before this affair could be settled, and thus he had a farther opportunity for deliberation. The poor fellow never let the infant out of his arms, and, at length, the workings of a father's heart prevailed over the love of country, and concern for his own personal safety. He told the captain, he found it impossible to leave his child, which all on board were glad to hear, for the sake of the poor helpless babe. A few useful articles were then presented to him. The Duff immediately proceeded on her voyage, while he returned to the shore. *Miss. Voyage*, p. 227.

three held him firm, another raised his club to strike him on the head. Instant death seemed now inevitable. Just, however, at that moment, the moon emerged from under a cloud, and shining full in his face as he lay on the ground, discovered who he was. Awed by reverence for Mulkaamair the chief, with whom he resided, they immediately dropped their clubs, as they knew he was a particular favourite with him. His companions, alarmed by his cries, now came up, and fired upon his assailants. The villains instantly fled, but afterwards followed the sailors for sometime, as they retired to their boat.*

Veeson did not accompany his companions to the ship, but returned to his own habitation. On his arrival, however, he was surprised to find the doors of the inclosure secured, and was obliged to stop some time in the public road. He, at length, succeeded in forcing the entrance; but, on going in, he was alarmed to see a number of the natives all under arms. As he approached, they pointed their spears at him, and told him they had learned from Ambler and Morgan, that it was the intention of him and his friends to seize on the island, and kill the inhabitants. These miscreants, it seems, had succeeded in rousing the jealousy and indignation of the Tongas, by this foul and malignant calumny. They laboured, indeed, by every mean in their power, to lessen the missionaries, and to exalt themselves in the estimation of the natives. They gave it out, for instance, that they were persons of the first rank in their own country, that one of them was the king's son, the other a duke or great chief; but that the missionaries were of the lower orders of the people, and servants to them.†

The missionaries afterwards thought it best to have no correspondence with these two fellows; and, indeed, there was soon no need either to court their favour, or to dread their resentment, for they totally lost the confidence of the natives. Notwithstanding their high pretensions of being dukes or

* Auth. Nar. p. 83, 85. † Ibid. p. 87.

princes, the Tongas had ingenuity enough to conclude, that had they been men of rank, as they said, they would surely have received presents from their own country as well as the missionaries. They accordingly treated them with little respect; and in consequence of their bad conduct, they at length put them both to death; Ambler, at the commencement of a civil war, of which we shall shortly speak on account of his having spoken disrespectfully of a neighbouring chief, and endeavouring to raise disturbances in the island; Morgan, two or three years afterwards, for brutally violating the daughter of one of the chiefs.*

Immediately after Veeson took up his residence with Mulkaamair, it was reported, by the natives, that he cohabited with one of the native women; and in fact, some parts of his conduct too well corresponded with such a rumour; yet, as he possitively denied the charge, while the Duff was on the island, it was thought best by most of the missionaries, as well as by captain Wilson, to allow him to remain. She had scarcely, however, sailed a week, when, to the inexpressible grief of his brethren, he acknowledged his criminality, but still he denied that it was any earlier than the night before. The missionaries who resided nearest to him, expostulated with him on the guilt and danger of his conduct; and at first it seemed as if their expostulations were not in vain. But their hopes were quickly dashed, by his mingling with the Heathen, and showing a strong disposition to learn their ways, in which, alas! he at length arrived at an awful proficiency. As, however, he proposed to marry the woman with whom he lived, his fellow missionaries agreed to solemnise the marriage, as what they considered the only remedy now left. But when the parties came before them, and they explained to the woman the nature of the marriage covenant, that it was an agreement for life to be faithful to her husband, and nothing but death could release her from the bond, the poor creature burst into tears, and refused to

* Auth. Nar. p. 90.

come under such an obligation, alleging as a reason, that no due affection subsisted between them, and that she, for her part, was influenced merely by the fear of the chief, and her parents. Under such circumstances, the missionaries could not proceed with the ceremony, as such a marriage would have been contrary not only to the laws of their country, but to every principle of common sense. She was therefore conducted back to her father; but Veeson soon after sent for her, and lived with her as his wife. The missionaries did not yet exclude him from their society, but embraced every opportunity of remonstrating and expostulating with him concerning his irreligious and immoral conduct. All, however was in vain. He now threw off the mask of Christianity so completely, that he did not know the Sabbath when it came, and even returned them his Bible, though earnestly requested to keep it. After some months, therefore, they proceeded to exclude him from their little society, though it was with a sorrowful heart.*†

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 257, 262, 266, 268, 272, 275. Auth. Nar. p. 126.

† The progress of Veeson in apostacy is thus described in the Narrative of his residence in Tongataboo, written by the Rev. Mr. Piggot of Nottingham, a clergyman of the church of England, from materials furnished by himself:

"Accustomed to scenes of pleasure, luxury, and amusement, among the natives; unrestrained by the presence of my companions, unassisted by any public means of grace; having singly to stem the torrent of iniquity, it was not long before I felt the pernicious influence of general example. This, however, was much owing to my negligence of private duties, and my yielding to the corrupt inclinations of my sinful nature. Indeed, when I look back, I perceive that the unsubdued propensities of my heart, which began to operate before I came to reside with Mulkaamair, were not duly resisted. Instead of praying for grace to withstand and mortify them, I began to indulge in foolish imaginations, and to neglect the needful exercises of private prayer, reading the Bible, and meditation. These first steps out of the path of duty, which are generally taken by most backsliders, soon led me into further aberrations from the right way. I began to dislike the means of grace; I never visited the brethren; I found delight, in the company, manners, and amusements of the natives; and soon took too large a part in them. As the religious impressions of my mind were weakened, the corrupt dispositions of my heart gathered strength.—Yet at times my conscience troubled me with loud accusations of in-

Though the missionaries were in general well treated by the natives, yet in various instances it was otherwise, and there were even cases in which they were in imminent danger of their life. In the summer of 1798, it was reported that

consistency, which forced me to pray. At length, however, I became so hardened, as to despise my convictions; and totally absented myself from those periodical meetings of the brethren which might have revived them. My regard for them daily diminished, and I left off visiting them.

My evil inclinations, now unchecked by law, and by the reverential sense of the divine Being, gradually gained the dominion. As my sense of the turpitude and guilt of sin was weakened, the vices of the natives appeared less odious and criminal. After a time, I was induced to yield to their allurements, to imitate their manners, and to join them in their sins.

Modesty, by degrees, lost with me its moralizing charm; and it was not long ere I disencumbered myself of my European garment, and contented myself with the native dress. At this time Skelly, one of my former companions, came to see me. He was struck with grief and surprise at my appearance, and seriously reproved me for it. My conscience seconded his reproofs. I acknowledged my error, but excused myself by a variety of empty pretexts; such as the warmth of the climate; the general custom of the natives; its convenience in a country, where, when clothes were wet, it was difficult to dry them again, and, when worn out, impossible to renew them. Skelly heard my excuses with pity, but did not see into the long train of evils connected with this violation of propriety; nor knew that my conscience, while I spoke, condemned the excuses with which I had softened his severity. In truth, the various temptations to which, till now, I had been an entire stranger, were too pleasing to the inclinations, and suitable to the taste of a young man of twenty-five.

Unhappily, as the companion of the chiefs, I was constantly exposed to temptation, being present at every alluring scene. He that indulges an evil imagination with amusements that tend to pollute the heart, will soon be seduced into criminality. No wonder then that the voluptuous attractions of several objects, thus daily presented to me, should in time allure me into the paths of vice.

It was not long after I had begun to imitate the dress and manners of the natives, and join their amusements, before Mulkaamair, the chief with whom I lodged, persuaded me to take a wife, a near relation of his own. My conscience loudly cautioned me not to be guilty of the sin of cohabiting with a woman without the sanction of marriage; and of taking a wife who was a Heathen, and perfectly destitute of every mental as well as religious endowment, who would most probably lead me still farther from the right way. But all these reasonings my evil inclinations soon taught me to refute or silence. Mulkaamair was my chief friend, and regarded me with parental affection. I should gratify, honour, and in some measure repay him for his kindness, by taking a relation of his for my wife; and thus also strengthen

most of the principal men on the island had solicited Toogahowe, the Dugona, to put them all to death, instigated, it was supposed, by a desire of their property, as well as by jealousy of their designs. At that time the missionaries gave no credit to the rumour, for the chiefs in general treated them with so much friendship, that they could not suspect them of so base a design; but afterwards they were assured, that about that period there was actually a conspiracy on foot to murder them; that some of those who professed the greatest regard for them, were the most active in it; that the Dugona was nearly consenting to cut off those who were under his protection; and that, had this taken place, it is not probable the others would have been long allowed to survive them. In this emergency, however, Providence raised up to them some friends, who stood firmly by them, and plead their cause; by which means their enemies were silenced, and the conspiracy broken. Shortly after, however, ten or twelve of the natives entered the house of Mr. Cooper, about three o'clock one morning. After threatening to murder him if he made any opposition or noise, they ordered him out of doors, stript off his shirt, and carried away whatever they could find in the house. Happily, however, they did him no personal injury, and when day-light return-

my interests with the rest of the natives, by forming an alliance with them. Pleased with these considerations, I consented. He sent for her: she agreed, and came modestly dressed in her best apparel, at the head of a number of women; one of whom taking her by the hand, and leading her to me, seated her by my side. She was a handsome girl of the age of eighteen. Mulkaamair entertained the large company assembled on the occasion with a plenteous feast, and they danced and sung till a late hour.

My marriage, which for a time rendered me very happy, threw down every barrier of restraint, which hitherto my conscience had opposed to my inclinations, and opened the door to every indulgence.—I lament to say, that I now entered with the utmost eagerness into every pleasure and entertainment of the natives, and endeavoured to forget that I was once called a Christian, and had left a Christian land to evangelize the Heathen. Into such excesses is man ready to run when once he has violated his conscience, and given way to temptation."—*Auth. Nar.* p. 107.

ed, he found they had left him an old coat, and a few articles of iron which they had missed in the dark.*

Hitherto the missionaries had been able to effect little or nothing with regard to the main object of their settlement upon the island. In learning the language of the natives, they had greater and more numerous difficulties to encounter than they had been taught to expect. They found it extremely difficult to convey to them any proper ideas even of natural things, with which they had not been conversant, much more of objects which are heavenly and divine. They had just, however, formed a plan for improving themselves in the language, and for reducing it to grammatical order, when an event occurred, which not only deranged the whole of their scheme, but involved the island in devastation and ruin.†

In April 1799, Toogahowe, the Dugona of the island, was treacherously murdered by Loogalalla and his brother, two of his own cousins. The chiefs of Tongataboo, and of all the neighbouring islands, being assembled at this time for the celebration of an annual religious ceremony, Loogalalla chose this opportunity for the execution of his barbarous purpose. He communicated his design to a number of other daring men, who, after appearing at the ceremony, embarked in their canoes as if to return to their own part of the island. They hovered, however, off the coast, landed again in the evening, and after stationing a guard at every avenue leading to the Dugona's residence, they proceeded in search of the object of their vengeance. Him, and his attendants they found asleep; but as it was dark, they could not at first distinguish which was the chief, and they were afraid to strike the fatal blow, lest by killing the wrong person they should give the others the alarm. Unfortunately, however, for Toogahowe, it is the peculiar privilege of the Dugona to anoint his head with oil, strongly scented with a certain species of fragrant wood, which is brought from the Fejee islands.

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 270. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 279.

Discovering him by this empty distinction, the conspirators murdered him, together with seven or eight of his attendants. The rest of his followers fled, but as every avenue was guarded, many of them also were slain. Having thus effected their bloody purpose, Loogalalla and his party proceeded to the shore, and seizing as many canoes as they needed, destroyed all the rest in order to secure their retreat.*

The news of this event flew like lightning over the whole island, and seemed to fire every breast with indignation and a desire of revenge. Loogalalla, however, had many powerful supporters among the chiefs, so that it was evident nothing but war could decide the fate of the island. Preparations were made on both sides with the utmost rapidity, and in a short time, the two parties met in the field of battle. The Aheefonians, or royalists, after three shouts, began the contest with great bravery, and in a short time routed the rebels, who fled in all directions, leaving the killed and wounded to the mercy, or rather the cruelty of the victors, who at first gave no quarter. Some of the missionaries were present at the battle, and witnessed scenes of barbarity from which humanity must recoil. A short way from the spot where the contest began, they saw an old man roasting part of a dead body, apparently with a design to eat it. At a little distance they beheld another spectacle no less shocking: it was the body of a chief who had fallen in battle; a fellow who had severed the head from the body, was exhibiting them as a proof of his prowess; and even some of the women, as they passed by, dipped their hands in the blood, and licked them.†

Nothing could be more gratifying to the royalists than to see several of the missionaries marching to the battle, as they entertained no doubt that they had fire arms with them, and would employ them against the rebels. Accordingly, on every little advantage which they obtained, the brethren came

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 281. Auth. Nar. p. 160. † Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 288.

on with Taleeitoobo, and other imaginary deities, for a share of their warmest acknowledgments; even the dog, which Kelso led in his hand, had abundance of kava presented to it. But as soon as it was discovered that the missionaries took no part in the battle, they became almost as obnoxious to them as their enemies. To remain where they were was therefore no longer safe; yet whither to go they knew not. They at length fled to a place called Eeleegoo, in the back part of the island, which seemed to promise them the best shelter that could be found at present, being inaccessible for canoes by a high reef of coral rocks along the shore, and very little frequented from the land. Here they retired into as private a spot as possible, and passed the greater part of this eventful day undiscovered by the natives. In the evening they returned to their own habitation; but they soon found it was no place of refuge for them, and therefore they retired to the house of a neighbour, who professed a good deal of friendship for them; but who, they afterwards understood, entertained serious thoughts of murdering them all, that very night.*

Next morning they returned to Eeleegoo, and took up their station in a wood near the place where they had hid themselves the day before. Here they lay concealed until about noon, when they discovered numbers of the natives flying in all directions; and they soon learned that a second battle had been fought, that the royalists were routed, and that most of their friends among the chiefs were slain.—Alarmed by this intelligence, they thought it best to leave their retreat, and to follow the crowd. After travelling with them about two miles, they came up with a party of armed men, who demanded their clothes; and as to have refused them would have been at the peril of their life, they surrendered them without hesitation, and so escaped unhurt.

Having proceeded a considerable way farther, they found

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 289.

the road turn more inland, and the beach terminate in a range of craggy rocks, with a thick wood between them and the country. Here, therefore, they took shelter, as they saw that they were viewed with an evil eye by many of their fellow-travellers. In the course of the day, they discovered, in the hole of a rock, a quantity of fresh water, which afforded them a most seasonable refreshment, and about sunset, two of them went in search of food, of which they all stood much in need, having tasted nothing except the water since the evening before. In less than half an hour, they returned with some bread-fruit and bananas, which they had obtained from a company of the natives whom they met with at a little distance; but they, at the same time, received from them the painful intelligence, that the three missionaries at Ardea; Harper, Bowel, and Gaulton, had been murdered by the Aheefonians the preceding day.* It appears that the royalists, after defeating the rebels, continued to pursue them till they came to that part of the country. The missionaries, apprehending that they who had taken no concern in the war would certainly not be molested by them, came out to view them as they approached. Amongst the warriors, however, arrived one who had formerly requested some presents, either from them or their brethren, and unfortunately had met with a refusal. With the barbarity natural to a savage, he seized this opportunity of taking revenge; and having run to attack them, he was readily joined by others. They knocked down Harper, Bowel, and Burham, an American seaman who was with them,† and murdered them all on the spot. Gaulton fled, but looking back and seeing his companions fall, to whom he was strongly attached, he returned, perhaps, in the hope of saving them,

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 290.

† Several sailors had landed from an American ship, soon after the arrival of the missionaries, and settled on the island. *Miss. Trans.* p. 259, 261.

and immediately shared a similar fate. After murdering the missionaries, the ruffians proceeded to plunder their habitation; and though many articles had been concealed and buried by them, yet they searched and found them all.*

The news of this terrible catastrophe could not fail to impress the surviving missionaries with the deepest sorrow, as well as excite in their minds the most painful apprehensions respecting their own safety. Next day being the Sabbath, they endeavoured to spend it among the rocks in such religious exercises as were suitable to the nature of that sacred day, and to the melancholy circumstances in which they were placed. In the afternoon, however, they were alarmed by the sight of a man armed with a club and spear, who bolted up close by them. He at first balanced the spear in his hand, and seemed ready to throw it at them; but on observing their number, he appeared confused, and at a loss what to do. The missionaries having immediately addressed him, he pretended that he was sent by Maffee, one of the chiefs, to seek for them, chiding them, at the same time, in a friendly manner, for remaining in such a place to perish with hunger. He then desired them to wait till he sought some cloth which he had left in the neighbouring wood, saying he would come back and take them to Maffee. He accordingly left them and returned in a few minutes; but now he assumed a very different carriage from what he manifested at first, desired them again to stay; and then left them a second time. As his behaviour was so dark and mysterious, they did not choose to wait his return, but immediately left the rocks in as quiet and cautious a manner as possible, being afraid he might design to bring a party of the natives against them. Observing a road which led to the sea, they descended by it and proceeded toward the beach. They had not advanced many yards, when they found a child, apparently about eight or nine years of age, lying dead on the ground.

* Auth. Nar. p. 169.

After travelling about a mile on the way to Aheefo, they met with a small company of the natives, consisting of ten or twelve persons, one of whom advised them to go with them to a place called Faheffa. They accordingly went with them, and having arrived in that quarter, about the dusk of the evening, were kindly entertained by the people.*

After a variety of other adventures, in the course of which the missionaries were often in the utmost danger of their life, Loogalalla, the traitor triumphed over all his opposers; and not only Tongataboo, but the neighbouring islands, submitted for the present to his sway. Bloody, however, as were the means by which he rose to sovereign power, he appeared to be friendly to the missionaries. Previous to his last landing, he had made it a part of his general orders to his army, that they should not be hurt; and as soon as he came on shore, he sent Veeson with a party to search for them, in order to secure their safety. Having now called them before him, he treated them in the kindest manner, gave them many assurances of his friendship, and presented them with a large bale of cloth, and two different kinds of saws. Vaarjee, the chief with whom their unfortunate companions resided, returned them several articles of clothing which had belonged to them, together, with a pocket-book, containing a gold ring, a breast pin, a few instruments, and sundry papers; a watch, a Bible, and a small compass; the first volume of Hervey's Dialogues, Crantz's History of Greenland, some other books, and a quantity of paper, pens, and ink.†

Having now an opportunity of visiting Ardeo, the missionaries were eager to go thither, in order to render the last offices of friendship to their murdered brethren, whose bodies were still lying on the road, exposed to the insults of all who passed by. On their arrival, they found the place a perfect desolation; the houses either burnt or lying in ruins; the fences all torn in pieces, and the fruits mostly destroyed.

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 292. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 294, 297, 300.

After taking a short view of the premises, they, were conducted to the places where the bodies of their murdered companions lay. This was a still more heart-rending sight. Bowel and Gaulton lay on the road, near each other; Harper in the neighbouring field. They were all, however so much disfigured, that their brethren could not have known them, except from the information of the natives, who had often seen them since their death. Burham, the American seaman, lay in a kind of ditch, at a considerable distance; and as his body was in such a state that it could not be moved without falling to pieces, the missionaries covered it with earth where it was. Afterwards, with the assistance of the natives, they dug a grave large enough to contain their three brethren: and having, though with some difficulty, moved them into it, buried them without either shroud or coffin. Vaarjee, the chief, appeared to bewail their death, in the most tender and affectionate manner, and even formed the generous design of removing them to a greater distance from the road, and of building a fiatooka, or monument, over them, as soon as he returned to Ardeo.*

Having thus performed the last offices of friendship to their unfortunate companions, the missionaries now began to resume their manual labours among the natives. Several of them who lived with a chief named Fackafanooa, having, though with much difficulty, procured materials for a pair of bellows, erected a forge in a house which he had prepared for that purpose. Here they soon found they would have plenty of work, but little payment for it. Almost every person about the place had something or other to do; but with the most unblushing effrontery, they often brought them their own property to be wrought into various forms, and not half so much stuff for payment as they used to allow for working iron, which they had purchased from others at a very great expence. In this practice they were much encouraged by Fackafanooa, who seemed to think the obliga-

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 291, 298.

tions of the missionaries to him were so great, they could never be discharged. He, indeed, reaped far more advantage from their labours than they did themselves; for as most of the payments consisted of ready cooked provisions, of which they could use but a very small part, his family was almost entirely supported on the rest. In several instances, however, this gave rise to circumstances of an unpleasant nature. The missionaries themselves preserved the command of their temper, notwithstanding the many provocations they received; but Beak, an American seaman, who wrought with them, did not maintain the same degree of equanimity. He appears to have been a passionate irritable man, and often got into quarrels with the natives. One day when he had fallen into a dispute with Fackafanooa, the chief immediately left them; but he returned soon after, with upwards of fifty unarmed men, and desired them all to come out. As soon as they had complied with his order, each of them was seized by two or three of the natives, and led without the gate. Here they found ten or twelve men armed with spears, ready, as they imagined, to put them all to death. The chief, however, seemed much agitated; and instead of murdering them, only made the following arrangement: Kelso and Buchanan he ordered to go to Aheefo, while Beak and Wilkinson should remain with him. The people, in general, on this occasion, seemed rather to sympathize with them than insult them: Some, indeed, appeared to rejoice in their sufferings, and to feel a savage pleasure in aggravating their distress.*

Agreeably to this arrangement, Kelso and Buchanan departed for Aheefo, and on their arrival they found their brethren in that quarter hard at work. They now learned that Fackafanooa had lately received an order to put them all to death, as their enemies represented their prayers as having a malignant influence on the mind of Loogalalla, and

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 302, 304.

as being indirectly the cause of all the calamities which had lately befallen the island. The prayers of the missionaries, indeed, had long been a source of jealousy to the natives. Scarcely had they landed on the island, when they were represented as the cause of the death of several of the chiefs who died about that period; and on every fresh calamity, the charge was renewed against them. The practice, indeed, was now so obnoxious, that the missionaries at Aheefo were obliged to hold their morning and evening worship at the forge, where only they could have it without molestation, because there it was unsuspected.*

Soon after the departure of his two brethren to Aheefo, Wilkinson overheard a conversation between Fackafanooa and some of the people, in the course of which, the missionaries were all treated with much disrespect; but as no mischief was threatened them, he took little notice of it till the following evening, when he heard his own death proposed by a number of the natives, to Knight, one of the American seamen; but as the wary sailor expressed his apprehensions that the ship would soon return, it was then proposed to *loomeeloomee* him, a cruel punishment, seldom practised except on prisoners of war, and inflicted by means of a broken cocoa-nut shell, jagged for the purpose, and beat into the crown of the head with a club. To this proposal the villain readily assented, but wished it might be executed in such a manner, that he would have no share of the blame. The people accordingly proceeded to make preparations for the execution of their barbarous purpose; and as Wilkinson overheard the conversation, he had to pass the night in the most painful apprehensions of being dragged out in the morning to receive this brutal treatment. He escaped, however, at that time; but soon after, both he and Beak received a severe cudgelling from some of Fackafanooa's people. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the baseness of that chief

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 267, 305.

towards them; and to crown his other acts of villainy, he at last seized the little property which they had acquired by hard labour, consisting of about four hundred yams, ten or a dozen of fowls, a considerable quantity of cloth, a dozen of knives, a grinding stone, and all their tools, merely because they refused to give him a shark-hook which they had made for another person.*

In this manner, the missionaries had passed nearly nine months since the assassination of their friend the Dugona. During the war, they had laboured under a numerous complication of evils; their life was often in the utmost jeopardy, and three of their number had actually fallen a sacrifice to the cruelty of the natives. Since the return of peace, their condition was little improved; plots were often on foot for their destruction; their poverty was such, that they were destitute of clothing, and almost of necessary food; and they were at the same time under such entire subjection to the natives, as destroyed all prospect of usefulness among them. Besides, they received the most positive assurances that Loogalalla, notwithstanding his former professions of friendship, had determined to murder some of them, on his return to the island, which was expected in less than a month; and it was evident, that should any of them survive his cruelty, they might expect at least to suffer all the horrors of famine, as the whole country had lately been laid waste by a storm. Under these discouraging and perplexing circumstances, some of the missionaries had entertained serious thoughts of quitting the island in their small boat, and attempting to sail to New South Wales; but to others this proposal appeared perfectly preprosterous, and only as flying from death on land, to inevitable destruction at sea, in a still more hideous form.†

Such was the situation of the missionaries, when in January 1800, they one evening heard the report of two guns in the bay; but as it was too late to ascertain the cause of

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 305, 306, 308. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 313.

this unusual noise, they passed the night in a state of most anxious suspence; sometimes hope, sometimes fear prevailed. In the morning, they endeavoured to get their boat to sea, but to their inexpressible disappointment, they failed in the attempt, as the tide did not reach her by forty or fifty yards. In the evening, however, they accomplished their purpose, and after sailing a considerable way, they descried two ships in the roads; but as the wind was contrary, it was midnight before they reached them. The one was an English vessel, the Betsy, bound for Port Jackson; the other, a Spanish brig which she had captured. Captain Clark, the commander, received the missionaries in the most friendly manner; and, on being informed of their distressing situation, kindly offered them a passage to New South Wales, assuring them that his cabin, with every accommodation it could afford, was at their service. This offer the missionaries accepted with thankfulness and joy. Before the ship finally left the island, one or two of the chiefs, and some others of their old friends, came on board, and took a most affectionate leave of them. The sensations of the missionaries on this occasion it is not easy to describe. The consideration of the time, the labour and the expence which had been employed on this undertaking, all of which were now to be lost; but especially the thought of abandoning a country containing thousands of immortal souls, who were perishing in ignorance and sin, could not fail to excite in their minds the most painful feelings. But necessity compelled them to depart. To remain was only to expose themselves to difficulties, and dangers, and death, without the smallest prospect of success. After a short and agreeable voyage, they arrived in safety at Port Jackson; and as his majesty's ship Reliance was daily expected to sail for England, Kelso, Wilkinson, and Buchanan obtained a passage in her, and returned to their native country where they arrived after an absence of about four years. Cooper returned to England the following year: while Shelly joined the missionaries

in Otaheite, but he did not settle permanently on that island.*

Veeson, the apostate missionary, still remained in Tongataboo, and therefore before we close this article, it may not be improper to add a short account of him. After taking home his wife, he obtained a small piece of land, of about fifteen acres,† which he gradually so enlarged, by new purchases, that he at length possessed a considerable estate. With the assistance of the natives who lived upon it, and who were considered as his subjects, he cultivated and improved his farm in such a manner, as excited the admiration of the whole island.‡ His intimacy and credit with the chiefs daily increased, and he generally made one of their parties both of business and pleasure.§ He was himself considered as a chief, and like the others he increased the number of his wives.¶ He was now, however, sick of savage life, by the horrors he had witnessed, and the dangers he had escaped in the late war, and having missed the opportunity of leaving the island in the same ship with the missionaries, he considered it as a just punishment of his dereliction of duty, and was scarcely able to bear the idea of spending the remainder of his days among so ferocious a race. He was doomed, however, to behold new horrors. The inhabitants of Aheefo having rebelled against the usurper, the flames of war were again kindled, and raged with no less fierceness than before. In a district which Loogalalla's party had laid waste, he beheld human bodies placed transversely upon each other, and piled up in large stacks, as a trophy of victory. This, however, was executed in the style of ordinary barbarism. But a little way from one of these stacks, he came upon a spectacle which almost froze his blood. It was a mother, in a sitting posture, holding an infant to her breast, as in the act of sucking, now cold and stiff with death.

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 313, 317. † Auth. Nar. p. 156.
‡ Ibid. p. 128. 130. § Ibid. p. 139. ¶ Ibid. p. 131.

The savages, after murdering them, had left the dead bodies to stiffen in that affecting attitude.*

At length, however, in August 1801, Veeson was so happy as to effect his escape from this land of savages. Tongataboo, which before the war was beautiful as a garden, was now waste as a wilderness, and the inhabitants were in a state of absolute starvation.† No chief of respectability remained; all were either killed, or had fled to other islands for safety. Loogalalla, the author of all these disasters, was the only chief of consequence who had weathered the storm, and even he had been obliged to retire to the Harby islands, from whence he made frequent depredations on Tongataboo.‡ Veeson having attached himself to the party of that usurper, had, of course, shared in his fortunes. About this period he was appointed by him chief of one of the Vavou islands, and was sent thither with a number of men under him, to bring it into a state of cultivation, as provisions were scarce at Harby.§ This, though an honourable, was to him a dangerous post. He had lately deserted the brother of Loogalalla, who had thrown off the yoke of that usurper and asserted his own independence. As this chief resided in the Vavou islands, it is probable Veeson would soon have fallen a sacrifice to his revenge, had he entered upon his government.¶ Scarcely, however, had he reached these islands, when he learned that a ship from England had been there three days. This intelligence excited the utmost agitation in his mind; but he had the prudence to conceal his feelings as much as possible, and appeared to take little or no notice of the information. Various plans of escape now rushed into his mind, yet how to execute them he scarcely knew. He, at length, persuaded some of the natives to go and trade with the ship; but as they approached her, he had the vexation to see her under weigh, and was terribly frightened she would sail without him. As the wind, however, blew only

* Auth. Nar. p. 188. † Ibid. p. 191. Evan. Mag. vol. x. p. 285.
‡ Auth. Nar. p. 189. § Ibid. p. 193. ¶ Ibid p. 194.

a light breeze, the ship took some time in getting round, and the canoe could run faster than she was able to do. On drawing near her, he called out, "How do you do, countrymen?" The sailors, however, only laughed at him, as they imagined from his dress and tatooed skin, that he was a native who had picked up some English phrases. They, therefore, held on, and thus Veeson was like to lose forever this opportunity of getting out of the hands of this savage race. He now attempted to call out who he was; but he had been so long unaccustomed to his native tongue, that he perpetually mixed with it the language of the islanders, and by this means rendered all he said so strange and unintelligible, as to increase the ridicule and incredulity of the sailors. He then jumped over board, knowing he could easily swim to the vessel, when a chief who was near him said, "Get into my canoe, I will take you to the ship." Veeson accepted of this offer, but no sooner had he entered the canoe, than the wretch turned with him towards the shore. His situation now seemed desperate. He cried out as loud as he could, in his broken dialect, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, as if in utter despair.*

Fortunately for him, his cries and gestures caught the attention of the captain, who, at that moment came on deck. "That," said he, "must certainly be an European," and immediately ordered out a boat for him, manned with eight persons. Veeson saw the boat coming, but the natives rowed away from it as fast as possible, tantalizing and jeering him, saying, "Such a chief wants to see you. You must visit Loogalalla's brother before you leave us." A young man at the head of the boat having at length beckoned to him to plunge, he watched his opportunity, dived into the sea, in a direction contrary to that in which the canoe was sailing, and kept himself under the water, that the savages might not strike him with their paddles. Meanwhile his countrymen came up to him, and pulled him into

* Auth. Nar. p. 195.

the boat. The danger, however, was not yet entirely over. The sailors now attempted to run the canoes down, but as they had no fire-arms, and the savages were much their superior in number, Veeson called to them to desist, warning them of the consequences. However, he had forgotton his own language so far, that he spoke in that of the islanders, who were now emboldened by what he said, and instead of continuing their flight, turned about, and began to pursue the boat. Had they known that the sailors had no fire-arms with them, it is probable they would have overtaken and murdered them all.*

Having at length reached the vessel, Veeson was not a little astonished to find it was a missionary ship; not indeed the Duff, in which he had originally sailed to the South Sea Islands, but the Royal Admiral, commanded by captain William Wilson, who had just landed a new body of missionaries in Otaheite, and was now returning to England.† During the voyage, Veeson was in a wild state of mind; sick of savage life, yet too long habituated to its privileges, to brook with complacency the restraints of civilized society. When they came in sight of the uninhabited island of Tinian, he felt a wish to be put on shore, that he might end his days in the solitude of a hermit.‡ Upon his arrival in England, he had an insuperable aversion to regular labour and a settled life. After some time, a pious female relation persuaded him to return to the town where he had received his first serious impressions, in the hope that the society of his old friends might, through the divine blessing, rekindle in his breast the almost extinguished sense of religion. Yielding to her remonstrances, he settled in the place, resumed his former occupations, and was induced by his pious acquaintances to attend again the long neglected means of grace.§ Under these, we are informed, he was impressed with a sense of the evil of his ways, with a dread

* Auth. Nar. † Ibid. p. 203.
‡ Ibid. p. 208, 209. § Ibid. p. 221.

of futurity, a desire of pardon, and a resolution of amendment. In this scene of retirement, the prodigal began to repent, the backslider to pray, the wanderer to return to the Redeemer's fold, from which he had strayed. The gloom of despondency, which a sense of guilt had spread over his mind, was at length dispelled by the declarations of the gospel; and it is hoped that he found peace of conscience through the atonement of Christ Jesus, and was set up as a monument of that grace which he had neglected to proclaim to the islanders of the South Sea.*

ARTICLE III.

St. Christina.†

IN April 1797, captain Wilson, after settling the missionaries in Otaheite and Tongataboo, sailed for the Marquesas islands, with the view of landing in Santa Christina, Mr. John Harris, and Mr. William Crook, who had both made choice of that place as the scene of their future labours. Harris, however, who had been particularly bent on settling in this quarter, had scarcely landed on the island, when he shrunk from the undertaking; and, before the departure of the ship, he determined to return to Otaheite. Crook, a young man of twenty-two, was not so easily disheartened; and, notwithstanding the loss of his companion, he resolved to remain on the island, desiring only such instruments of husbandry, and other articles, as might facilitate and extend his usefulness among the unenlightened natives. His happiness, he observed, would no doubt have

* Auth. Nar. p. 222, 223.

† St. Christina Island is one of the groupe of islands called the Marquesas, and is in lat. 9° 44′ S. and long. 139° 13′ W.
It is 9 miles long, and about 21 in circuit.—*Malham's Gazetteer.*

been greatly promoted had he enjoyed a friendly and agreeable associate; but since the Lord had ordered otherwise, he thought it better corresponded with his character and profession to resign himself to his fatherly care, and to trust in his promises, than to abandon a situation where a door of usefulness appeared to be opened to him; and should his blessed Saviour make him the honoured instrument of preparing the way for some of his more able servants, he should, at least, have the pleasure of reflecting that his life was not spent in vain.*

Bold and zealous, however, as Mr. Crook was, the mission to the Marquesas islands came to a termination sooner than even that to Tongataboo. During the first six months of his residence on Santa Christina, he suffered considerably from hunger, in consequence of the improvidence of the natives; but yet he was kindly treated by the chiefs, who always allowed him to partake of their own scanty morsel.—About a year after his arrival, a ship having appeared off the island, he went on board of her with a view of inquiring to what country she belonged, and of writing to Europe by her; but as the wind blew fresh from the mountains, the vessel was not only unable to work her way into the harbour, but was carried to the leeward. Being thus prevented from returning† to Santa Christina, Mr. Crook requested the captain to carry him to sir Henry Martyn's, an island about sixty miles to the north-west, and, in compliance with his request, the captain was so obliging as to bear away and land him upon it.‡

On his arrival on this island, the natives were astonished to find a White man who could speak their own language,

* Miss. Voyage, p. 45, 86, 112, 132, 137, 139, 141.

‡ Evan. Mag. vol. vii. p. 261.

† It does not appear, however, that Mr. Crook was under an absolute necessity of leaving Santa Christina, for some of the natives who accompanied him to the ship returned to the island.
Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 10.

and, till he dissuaded them from the extravagant idea, they considered him as a god. The principal chief immediately adopted him as his Tayo, and supplied his wants with the greatest liberality. In a short time he obtained a large piece of ground, stocked with bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and tarro-roots, which he inclosed with a bamboo fence, and built a house upon it.*

After he had resided for several months on this island, two ships, the Euphrates and Butterworth, both south whalers, from London, put in for refreshments, to whom he was of considerable service as interpreter, as well as in procuring for them a plentiful supply of provisions. Despairing of seeing the Duff on this island, he thought he should most effectually serve the cause of the mission by returning to England, and representing to the society the state of the whole group of the Marquesas islands, together with the propriety of sending more missionaries, who, by exhibiting a form of Christian economy in domestic life, might induce the natives to pay greater attention to their instructions. He accordingly embarked in the Butterworth, and sailed for England, where he arrived in May 1799.† The mission to the Marquesas islands was never renewed; but Mr. Crook again left his native country in April 1803, with the view of joining the missionaries in Otaheite. He did not, however, proceed to that island, but with his wife settled in some situation at Port Jackson.‡

Such is the history of the missionary establishments in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. In taking a view of them, it is impossible not to be struck with the vast disproportion between the splendid hopes that were originally entertained of them, compared with the final melancholy result. We are not, however, to conclude, that the undertaking has been of no service. One or two Otaheitan youths, who were brought to England, and died in this country, afforded some

* Evan. Mag. vol. vii. p. 261. † Ibid. vol. vii. p. 261.
‡ Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 1.

hopes that they departed in the faith of Christ.* It is likewise said, that a sailor in one of the vessels which touched at Otaheite was brought under serious impressions by means of the missionaries, and that he was afterwards exceedingly useful to many of his shipmates.† To this we have now the pleasure of adding the late most agreeable intelligence from Eimeo, respecting Pomare and others of the natives. If these representations should prove well founded, even this slender degree of success will be an ample compensation for all the labour and expence which have attended the undertaking. Besides, as in medicine more instruction is often derived from those cases in which all the art of the physician fails, than even from those in which it proves successful; so in missions, more useful lessons may sometimes be drawn for the conduct of other undertakings of a similar kind, from those which prove abortive, than from those which are crowned with success. We question, indeed, if in the whole history of the propagation of Christianity in modern ages, a mission is to be found so fruitful in important and interesting lessons, as the mission to the South Sea Islands. We shall make only one other remark, and we think it is an observation of considerable importance. The mission to the South Sea Islands, though it has been attended with little or no success in that quarter of the globe, has yet been a powerful mean of promoting the interests of Christianity in other parts of the world, particularly in Pagan countries. Elliot, and Mayhew, and Brainerd, the Danes, the Moravians, and the Baptists, had all engaged in missionary undertakings, and most of them with considerable appearances of success. But their operations never awakened the Christian world from the lethargy into which it had fallen. Individuals were interested and delighted with their exertions; but the great body of professed Christians scarcely ever heard

* Periodical Accounts relative to the Missions of the United Brethren, vol. iii. p. 193.

† Report of the Miss. Society, 1810, p. 15.

either of them or their labours. It was not till the Missionary Society was formed;—it was not till the magnificent mission to the South Sea Islands was undertaken, the splendour of which dazzled the eyes of mankind, that the Christian world was aroused from its slumbers. Then a general concern was excited throughout the whole of Christendom, for the conversion of the Heathen. Old establishments were revived, or at least supported with more vigour, and prosecuted with fresh zeal. New institutions were formed for the propagation of the gospel at home and abroad, some of which have already been crowned with extensive success, while others promise a yet more abundant harvest. In short, a new impulse appeared to be given to the operations of the Christian world; and this, we think, may be traced in no inconsiderable degree, to the splendour and magnificence of the mission to the South Sea Islands.

SECTION II.

South Africa.

IN December 1798, the Rev. John T. Vanderkemp, M. D. Mr. J. J. Kicherer, Mr. William Edwards, and Mr. James Edmonds, sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, on board the Hillsborough, a government transport ship, bound to New South Wales with convicts. As the missionaries had thus an opportunity of labouring for the good of souls even during the voyage, they resolved to lose no time in making some efforts for the instruction of these miserable creatures. They were told, indeed, that if they ventured into the hold among them, the convicts would certainly throw a blanket over them, and rob them of whatever they had in their pockets; but notwithstanding this representation, the missionaries

determined to make the attempt, and, happily, they were received by them with every mark of respect, and listened to with the greatest attention. By the kindness and affability of their manners, they in a few days so conciliated the regard of the prisoners, that they found themselves completely at their ease among them, ventured into the midst of them without the smallest dread, and conversed as freely with them, as if they had been their most intimate friends and acquaintance. This was the more remarkable, considering the manner in which others were handled by them. One day, before they sailed from Portsmouth, several naval officers came on board to search for some deserters, who, it was supposed, had concealed themselves among the convicts; but no sooner had one of the officers, with his gang, attempted to pass the entrance of the orlop deck, than the prisoners seized him, beat him most unmercifully, and wounded him in the head with his own dagger. In the course of the scuffle, he had his coat torn, and lost his hat, together with the sheath of his dagger; and even counted himself fortunate in escaping with his life. Two days after, a cutter, with some officers and a detachment of marines, came to renew the search; but the convicts threatening to murder them if they entered the hold, they wisely desisted from the attempt. About the same time, the prisoners engaged in a plot to murder the officers of the Hillsborough, seize the vessel, and carry her over to France; and though the conspiracy was providentially discovered and defeated, yet this did not hinder them, about ten days after, from entertaining the horrid design of sinking the vessel, and escaping in the boats; and with this view many of them had even found means to cut off their chains and their hand-cuffs.*

Such was the description of men, among whom the missionaries sought to labour; while, at the same time, the circumstances of their situation rendered the attempt not only disagreeable but dangerous. About two hundred and forty

* Evan. Mag. vol. vii. p. 337. Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 360.

of these miserable creatures were chained in pairs, hand to hand, or leg to leg, in the orlop deck, which was perfectly dark, except that a little light entered at the hatchways. At first, the darkness of the place, the rattling of the chains, and the dreadful imprecations of the prisoners, suggested ideas of the most horrid nature, and combined to form a lively picture of the infernal regions. Besides, in a short time, a putrid fever broke out among the convicts, and carried off no fewer than thirty-four of them during the voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. The state of the prison was now loathsome beyond description; yet in this place, as well as in the hospital, surrounded with infection, disease, and death, did the missionaries daily labour to pluck these brands from everlasting burnings. Nor did they seem to labour in vain. In a short time, a number of the convicts appeared to be impressed with convictions of sin, and with concern about their souls. Some of them even agreed to have a prayer meeting among themselves three times a week. Not long before, this place was such a sink of depravity and wretchedness, as to furnish a striking emblem of hell; now it seemed a little heaven. They who once could scarcely speak but to blaspheme, had learned the songs of Zion; and their horrid imprecations were changed into the language of humble praise. There even seemed reason to hope, that some of those who died, departed in the faith of Christ, and were admitted into "the general assembly and church of the first born," to unite with them in the sacred services of the temple of God on high.*

In March 1799, the missionaries arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, and met with a very kind reception from general Dundas the lieutenant-governor of the colony, and from many other persons both in a public and private station. During their stay at Capetown, they laboured with unwearied diligence and zeal in promoting the interests of religion in that place. Besides preaching, attending prayer meetings,

* Evan. Mag. vol. vii. p. 338. Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 361.

&c. they prevailed with a number of the inhabitants to form an institution for the propagation of the gospel, under the name of "The South African Society, for promoting the spread of Christ's kingdom at the Cape of Good Hope." It is not unworthy of notice, that a letter from the Missionary Society in London on this subject, was the first religious publication in that quarter of the globe; and though it consisted only of five pages, every copy was to be sold at two shillings sterling.*

The whole of the missionaries were originally destined for Caffraria; but after their arrival at the Cape, it was agreed that Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Edmonds only should proceed to that country, while Mr. Kicherer and Mr. Edwards should settle among the Boschemen. We shall now proceed to detail the history of these missions, and also of some others, which have since been established in South Africa.

ARTICLE I.

Bethelsdorp.

IN May 1799, Dr. Vanderkemp and his associate Mr. Edmonds, left, Capetown, and set off on their journey for Caffraria, the intended scene of their future labours. On the morning of their departure, their lodgings were crowded with friends who came to bid them farewell, and many even of the slaves brought them little presents of fruit, handkerchiefs, &c. expressing a grateful sense of their disinterested labours among them. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the kindness and attention of the colonists to them, in the course of their journey. Every where they were welcomed as

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 366.

angels, and heard with the reverence due to apostles. The people crowded from all quarters to hear them preach; for such is the distance of many of the colonists from a place of worship, that they often do not hear a sermon for a year together, nay, some scarcely during their whole life. The inhabitants of the colony had been summoned by government to serve them with their oxen, and to afford them every assistance in their power; but this requisition was unnecessary, for every one offered his cattle, horses, and provisions, with the utmost cheerfulness, without asking payment for them. No less than one hundred and ninety-two oxen, seventy-seven horses, and twenty-two Hottentots, were at their service in the course of their journey from Capetown to Graaf Reinet, besides twenty-four oxen of their own, of which fourteen were offered them as a present.*†

Their journey through the wilderness, however, was tedious, and even dangerous. The country abounded with lions, tigers, wolves, and other beasts of prey; and though they were preserved in safety, yet often they could not sleep for the howling of these ravenous creatures. The wolves, indeed, frequently approached their huts during the night, but the dogs drove them away. One night, a lion broke into their kraal, and killed three sheep and two goats, but providentially it committed no farther mischief. As it was now the depth of winter in that quarter of the globe, the cold was often very severe. One morning, the water in their calabashes was frozen, the ink in their tent was converted into a lump of ice, and the drops of water spilt on the mats

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 372, 374. Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 74.

† The kindness of the colonists to Dr. Vanderkemp and his companion is certainly rather singular, and must be attributed chiefly to the novelty of missionaries in that quarter of the country, and to the important idea which these people had of their undertaking. The Dutch peasantry at the Cape of Good Hope are among the basest, the most cruel, and most degraded beings on the face of the earth, and the determined enemies of the instruction of the Hottentots.

which served them for a table at breakfast, were congealed even in the sunshine. On approaching the boundaries of the colony, they found the contrary in a state of complete anarchy, owing to the dissensions which subsisted between certain of the Dutch boors and some rebel Caffres. Several murders had already been committed on both sides; and it was said, that the Caffres had united with the Hottentots to destroy the whole of the colonists. Strange as it may seem, one of the boors, named Piet Prinslo, charged Dr. Vanderkemp with all these disorders; and even told him to his face, that it was he who had stirred up the Caffres to kill and plunder the colonists, and that he had said to the Hottentots, pointing to the cattle, "These you have a right to: Take them freely; they are yours." It is scarcely necessary to say, that this accusation was a gross falsehood.*

Having arrived on the borders of Caffraria, the missionaries sent an embassy to Geika, the king of that part of the country, and shortly after they received a very friendly answer from him, encouraging them to come and settle with him. He desired them to make all haste; and as a token of his favour and protection, sent them his tobacco-box, which would be universally respected by his people; but he warned them at the same time against certain of the Caffres, whom he considered as rebels against him. Indeed, the missionaries, and some colonists who accompanied them, had already been attacked by them, and lost a considerable number of their cattle; and on the day after the return of the messengers, they had not proceeded above three hours on their journey, when a great multitude of the rebels appeared upon the mountains on their left hand, and rushing down with a horrid clamour, attempted to break in upon their waggons. A battle ensued; and after an engagement of about an hour, the Caffres retreated, but carried away the cattle of the colonists.†

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 376, 378, 383, 385.

† Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 76. Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 384, 386.

Not discouraged by these circumstances, the missionaries still pursued their journey, and having entered Caffraria, they at length arrived at the place of Geika's residence. About a hundred Caffres having immediately flocked around them, they enquired for the king; but nobody made any reply.—After they had waited, however, about ten minutes, he made his appearance in a majestic solemn attitude, attended on each side by one of his principal men. He was covered with a long robe of panther's skins, and had a diadem of copper and another of beads round his head; his cheeks and lips were painted red, and in his hand he held an iron club. He stopped about twenty paces from them; and one of his captains signified to them, that this was the king. They then stepped forward to him, and he, at the same time, marched toward them. He reached them his right hand, but spoke not a word. Behind him stood his captains and women, ranged in the form of a crescent; and at some distance, the rest of the people. Dr. Vanderkemp, having delivered him his tobacco-box, which they had filled with buttons, enquired whether there was no person present who could speak Dutch; but nobody made any reply, only some smiled. In about a quarter of an hour, however, a man arrived dressed in the European fashion, whose name was Buys, one of the colonists who had taken refuge in Caffraria, and who now acted as interpreter. The king, having sat down on an ants' hill, enquired of the missionaries, what was their errand: to which Dr. Vanderkemp replied, that they came to instruct him and his people in matters which would make them happy, both in this world and the world to come; that they only asked permission to settle in the country, the privilege of his protection, and liberty to return home whenever they pleased. In reply to this, the king observed, that they had come at a very unfavourable period, for the whole country was then in a state of confusion, though he designed nothing but peace, and had no concern in the war which subsisted between the colonists and some of the Caffres; and there-

fore advised them not to stay with him. "Your people," said he, "look on me as a great man; but I am not able to entertain you as you ought to be entertained: You look for safety, but I can find no safety for myself; neither can I protect you, for I cannot protect myself." To this Dr. Vanderkemp answered, that they were only private persons willing to provide for themselves; that they did not imagine he could remove the common calamities of war, but that they would endeavour to bear them with patience; and that they asked no other protection from him than he was able to afford the meanest of his subjects. The king repeated to them, however, his first advice, not to stay in the country.*

Thus the prospect of establishing a mission in Caffraria, seemed, even at first, completely over-clouded. Two days after this interview, the missionaries learned that Piet Prinslo had sent intelligence to the king, that they were spies and assassins, and that they had enchanted poisoned wine with them, to kill him, advising him to keep them prisoners, till he should come and convict them of this crime, and warning him not to taste of their wine. This information naturally made a deep impression on the mind of Geika, and certainly it would not have been wonderful though he had put them to death, without further delay. To add to Dr. Vanderkemp's distress, the people who were with him attributed the whole of these evils to him, as if he had been the instrument of bringing them into these perils, though they knew that he had often warned them of such things, and that they had accompanied him into Caffraria of their own accord. "As for myself," says he, "I knew that when I came into this country, I entered it having the sentence of death in myself, that I should not trust in myself, but in the living God, who raiseth the dead."†

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 394. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 397, 399.

By degrees, these unfavourable impressions appear to have been effaced from the mind of the king, and on the representation of Buys the interpreter, he assigned the missionaries some land on the other side of the river Keiskamma, with liberty to remain or to leave the country whenever they pleased.* The place allotted to them was a beautiful field of grass, in the middle of an amphitheatre of high mountains, inhabited by numbers of Caffres, consisting of different kraals, eleven of which were in their immediate vicinity. Round the foot of the mountains ran the river Guakoeby, which afforded them most excellent water. The ascent of the mountains was covered by a thick forest, containing trees of every description. Beyond them were meadows of vast extent, and of a beautiful verdure; and on the summit there was an inaccessible forest.† Here Dr. Vanderkemp immediately began to clear part of the ground for a garden, and, with the assistance of Buys and his people, he erected himself a house. In consequence of the want of salt, he set off on horseback, to seek for a convenient place on the sea shore for a salt pan, and having found a suitable situation, he returned on the evening of the fourth day; but as in this excursion he had neither hat, nor shoes, nor stockings, his head and feet were severely wounded by the stones and thorn bushes. Such is the specimen of the hardships which this excellent man cheerfully endured, that he might plant the gospel in the wilds of Caffraria.‡

Hitherto Dr. Vanderkemp had enjoyed the society of a companion who possessed similar views as himself, and shared with him in his toils and labours; but, about the end of the year, Mr. Edmonds thought proper to leave him.—This young man had originally fixed his heart on a mission to Bengal; but was persuaded to accompany Dr. Vanderkemp to Caffraria. On arriving, however, in this country, he formed an insuperable aversion to the Caffres, and his desire to settle among the Hindoos again returned. His

* Miss. Trans, vol. i. p. 399. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 404, 413. ‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 408.

departure was a very distressing circumstance to his venerable colleague; but under this, as well as under his other trials, the Lord graciously supported him.*

In April 1800, Dr. Vanderkemp received orders from Geika to leave the place of his present residence, and to remove to the river Debe. Though the king had promised him protection, and even refused him permission to leave the country, yet jealousy at times still haunted his mind. One day he came to the place where the doctor was, attended by about fifty Caffres and Hottentots; and though these had only a single kiri, club, or assagay in their hands, yet about two hundred more lay concealed in the neighbouring woods, completely armed with shields and darts, as if they had been prepared for an engagement. He acknowledged to Buys, that the Hottentots had incited him to treat Dr. Vanderkemp and him as his enemies, having told him that they both had some evil design against him; but now he was convinced, by their appearance that the charge was without foundation. Not long after, however, a new plot was formed for murdering the doctor, as a conspirator against the king and the colonists; but through the gracious interposition of Providence, the design was laid aside.†

In the meanwhile, the doctor had not neglected the great object of his settlement in this wild and barbarous country. He had early opened a school, in which he instructed a number of young people in the Dutch and Caffre languages, and in the principles of the Christian religion. He also preached as often as he had opportunity, to a few who understood the Dutch language. By means of his labours, several Hottentot women appeared to be impressed with a sense of divine things; and, after some months, he had the pleasure of baptizing one of them named Sarah, together with her three children, in the river Keiskamma; but immediately after, she and two or three others of whom he had conceived favourable hopes, were removed to a distant part of the country.

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 511. † Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 409, 416, 421.

Anxious for the spiritual welfare of these young converts, and afraid of the storms to which they might be exposed from satan and the world, he resolved to follow them, that he might have an opportunity of watching over them, and attending to the care of their souls.*

In January 1801, Dr. Vanderkemp left Caffraria along with a number of the colonists, who took flight out of this barbarous country, under the pretext of going on a hunting expedition. The whole company, consisting of about sixty persons, proceeded forward in three waggons and a cart, having with them upwards of three hundred cattle, besides goats and sheep, and twenty-five horses.† Soon after their departure, they were attacked by the Boschemen, but they drove them back with a few gun-shots. Their situation, however, was very alarming, as, from the dread of being discovered by the savages, they were afraid to light their fires in the night, and so were exposed to the lions and other beasts of prey, which roam at large through that dreary region. After removing from place to place, and meeting with a variety of other difficulties and hardships, Dr. Vanderkemp came to Graaf Reinet, where, to his inexpressible joy, he found two missionaries who had come to his assistance, namely, Mr. James Read, and a Dutchman named Vanderlingen. Here he learned that his stay with the emigrated colonists in Caffraria had been the only obstacle which had prevented the march of a body of soldiers to seize them, as it was foreseen that this violent step would have exposed him to considerable danger.‡

While Dr. Vanderkemp was in Caffraria, he had received letters from Graaf Reinet, requesting him to come and take the pastoral charge of the colonists in that place. This invitation was now repeated, but he still declined it, as his heart was set on the conversion of the Heathen. It was agreed, however, that Vanderlingen should accept of it;

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 411, 420, 423, 425, 430. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 431, 469.
‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 479.

while the doctor and his new associate, Mr. Read, should employ themselves in instructing the Hottentots, in the town and neighbourhood.*† This last measure, it might have been supposed, could have given no offence to the Christian inhabitants of the country, or rather, that it would have afforded them the greatest satisfaction; but scarcely had the missionaries entered on their labours, when a number of the colonists rose in arms, threatened to attack the village, and to put a period to the instruction of the Hottentots. Having approached the town on horse back, they halted at about the distance of a gun-shot from it, and then sent a messenger to Mr. Maynier the commissioner, demanding, among other things, that the Hottentots should no longer be admitted into the church, and that the seats should be washed, the pavement broken up, and the pulpit covered with black cloth, as a sign of mourning for the want of a regular clergyman. Anxious to prevent the effusion of human blood, the missionaries intimated to Mr. Maynier, that they would willingly leave the church, and instruct the Hottentots in some other place. But as the insurgents were by no means satisfied with this and some other concessions that were made to them, Mr. Lyndon, the commander of the troops, agreed, next morning, to allow them till one o'clock, to settle matters in a friendly manner, but threatened that he would then attack them without delay, if they still persisted in their obstinacy. The line of battle was drawn up

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 479.

† Mr. Read was one of the missionaries who was captured in the Duff, in her second voyage to the South Sea Islands. Since his arrival in Africa, he has been exceedingly useful among the Hottentots, far, indeed, beyond his own expectations. These were so very humble, that they are not unworthy of observation. In a letter written some years after this, he says, "When I devoted myself to the service of Christ, under the patronage of the Missionary Society, I never thought for a moment of being made an instrument for the conversion of one Heathen; but I hoped I might help my brethren at Otaheite or Tongataboo, by working at my business; but the Lord's thoughts were not as mine, and to him be all the glory."—*Miss. Trans.* vol. iii. p. 152.

in the form of a crescent; the right consisting of the Hottentots, leaned against the village; the left, formed of the Pandours, against the church; the English dragoons were in the centre, and four field pieces were placed in the front, on the left. Intimidated by these warlike preparations, the insurgents sent a messenger, requesting three days for deliberation; but Mr. Lyndon returned for answer, that if they still persisted, he was determined to attack them at the time he had previously stipulated. Upon this they retreated, and in a few days matters appeared to be amicably settled through the mediation of Dr. Vanderkemp. Among the heads of this conspiracy was Vanderwalt, a man who had shewn the missionaries much kindness, when they first entered the country.*

Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Read, having, by the authority of Mr. Maynier the commissioner, made a short visit to Caffraria, with the view of settling the differences between the Caffres and the colonists, the rebels circulated a paper, in which they represented them as having been endeavouring to stir up Geika against them, and therefore they summoned their countrymen to march against Graaf Reinet. Accordingly, it was not long before they again rose in arms. Early one morning, as Dr. Vanderkemp was going to the water to wash some linen, he observed a multitude of Hottentot women and children running from the neighbouring kraals, towards the barracks; and while he was inquiring the reason of their flight, he discovered that the rebels had completely surrounded the village, and were advancing from every quarter. At the same moment the great guns of the barracks and redoubt were fired upon them. The firing continued on both sides, from six till half past nine, without interruption, and with some intervals till sunset. In the course of the day, Dr. Vanderkemp had twice occasion to pass by the rebels, who suffered him to approach pretty near them, and then fired a number of shots at him, but providentially he

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 480, 483.

escaped unhurt. The reports which were circulated concerning that distinguished man, would appear truly astonishing, did we not know that, in every age, the most devoted servants of God have, in a peculiar manner, been the object of the hatred and slander of the world, and that even the friends of religion have too often united with the ungodly in calumniating their character, and checking their usefulness. Not only were the rebels greatly exasperated against Dr. Vanderkemp, but many of the more pious people in the colony represented him as guilty of the most scandalous enormities, and as entirely given over to the devil. These reports, he was grieved to learn, had made a very unfavourable impression, even on some of his most particular friends; but he comforted himself with these words of our Lord, "Blessed are ye when men shall say all manner of evil against you, falsely for my sake."*

Having lately received from general Dundas, the governor of the Cape, an offer of any piece of ground in the colony for the establishment of a settlement, the missionaries requested him to grant them some land near Algoa Bay, in the neighbourhood of fort Frederick. The governor, anxious to promote this important object, wrote Dr. Vanderkemp to proceed with all possible despatch in forming such an institution, and desired him to transmit a list of such articles as were necessary for its erection, that he might send them from Capetown as a present to the settlement. He even anticipated the wishes of the missionaries, and in the mean time sent off a ship to Algoa Bay, with rice and other articles, which he thought they would need immediately upon their arrival; and though intelligence soon after reached the Cape, that by the peace of Amiens the colony was restored to the Dutch, yet this made no alteration in the governor's conduct towards them.†

In February 1802, the missionaries left Graaf Reinet, with a considerable number of Hottentots; and after about a fort-

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 486, 492, 493, 495. † Ibid. vol. i. 495, 500.

night's journey, they arrived at Bota's Place, in the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay, the new scene of their labours. Here they found a dwelling-house of three rooms, another house suitable for a church and school, and a third which they converted into a printing-office, together with abundance of grass, timber, and limestone. They had not, however, been long in this place, when they experienced the pernicious effects of the stagnant water in their neighbourhood, many of them being seized with agues and diarrhœas. Dr. Vanderkemp himself was attacked by both these disorders, and afterwards by a severe rheumatism, which confined him to his bed for upwards of twelve months, and even then, he was not able to perform any public duty.*

No sooner was the missionary institution begun at Bota's Place, than it became the object of the hatred and opposition of the neighbouring colonists. Dr. Vanderkemp, and his associate Mr. Read, were described by them as men who took part with the plundering Caffres and Hottentots, to the imminent danger of the good inhabitants of the country, and who made the settlement a receptacle for robbers and murderers. The truth is, the missionaries never had the smallest connection with any of the plundering parties; but they received into the institution such as separated themselves from them, and from aversion to their past ways, came to hear the word of God, and to live in tranquillity and peace. In consequence, however, of the clamours and misrepresentations of the boors, they received an order from government, prohibiting them from admitting any more Hottentots into the settlement, or having any connection with the tribes on the Sunday river. By this means, they were compelled, to their inexpressible grief, to refuse many of these poor unfortunate creatures, principally women and children, who nevertheless chose rather to live in the woods among the beasts, than return to their more savage countrymen.†

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 503; vol. ii. p. 82, 161.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 84.

Before the colony was delivered into the hands of the Dutch, general Dundas unexpectedly paid the missionaries a visit at Algoa Bay. On account of the distracted state of the country, he advised them either to remove with the institution into fort Frederick, and for this purpose offered them all the remaining buildings in that place; or to accompany him to Capetown, and to defer the instruction of the Hottentots in this quarter till peace was re-established. The first of these offers, however, they declined, for several reasons; but they reserved the right of availing themselves of it, should they find it impossible to remain at Bota's Place. As to the other proposal, both of them expressed their firm determination not to leave their people, whatever might be the consequences. Dr. Vanderkemp said, that even if he knew it would cost him his life, yet he was not afraid to offer it up for the meanest child among them. Mr. Read, with no less resolution, declared, that though his father Dr. Vanderkemp should have resolved to leave the place, yet for his part, he was determined not to have followed his example, but to have ventured his life along with their people. The governor, finding them both so resolute, desisted from his persuasions; and as a farther proof of his approbation of their labours, he made a present of the following articles to the institution: Six thousand pounds of rice, six casks of salt meat, two hundred sheep, fifty-nine labouring oxen, eleven milch cows, ninety-six horned cattle, three waggons, one fish net, one corn mill, two corn sieves, one smith's bellows, besides various agricultural utensils.*

Scarcely had the English left the country, when a troop of plundering Hottentots attacked the missionary settlement in the middle of the night, and carried away all the cattle. One of the most esteemed of the Hottentots belonging to the institution approached them, and spoke in a friendly manner; but they cried, "Look, there comes a peace-mak-

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 86.

er, kill him, shoot him;" upon which they wounded him with a ball in the leg. The missionaries hoped that they would have been content with their cattle, but it seemed also to be their intention to take their lives. They made an assault upon their dwellings, and for this purpose they employed the cattle in the manner of the Caffres. Providentially, however, Mr. Read had laid some newly sawn planks between the house of the missionaries and the one adjoining to it. The cattle which the enemy drove before them, being afraid of these, would not step over them, but turning aside, left the robbers completely exposed. The inhabitants of the settlement, compelled by self-defence, fired among them, without being able to take any particular aim, on account of the darkness of the night; but though they fired only two shots, one of them wounded the chief of the party in the thigh, and the large artery being cut through, the effusion of blood was so violent that he died in a few minutes. The whole troop immediately fled, leaving behind them all the cattle, except eighteen which they had driven away in the beginning of the assault. On the following night, however, the settlement was again visited by enemies, but on finding that the inhabitants had removed their cattle from the kraal into the square which was surrounded by the houses, and barricadoed at all the entrances, they left them unmolested. But two days after, they returned in greater numbers, and attacked the settlement in the middle of the day, as part of the cattle were driving to the pasture, and they stabbed one of the woodcutters who had gone into the forest to pray. The inhabitants now attacked them in great confusion, but with terrible fury, leaving the place with their wives and children, totally undefended. They soon put the robbers to flight, and brought the cattle back again, except eight oxen, which were either killed or mortally wounded. The missionaries had always taught their people rather to part with their worldly goods, than to save them at the expence of destroying a fellow creature; that it was never law-

ful to kill a person, unless when it was absolutely necessary for self-preservation, or in defence of others. But this doctrine was not very palatable to the taste of a Hottentot; a circumstance which occasioned the missionaries much regret, as they wished to win their enemies by mild and gentle treatment, and by no means to provoke them by unnecessary opposition. Besides, they foresaw that the enemy might soon be able to bring forward such a force as entirely to destroy the settlement, and to scatter or murder the inhabitants. For this reason, they immediately removed with the institution to fort Frederick, until they should obtain from government a place where they might live in tranquillity and peace.*

In fort Frederick, the situation of the missionaries was not materially improved. Here they had to suffer new and severe trials, partly from the opposition of the boors, in whose hands general Dundas had left the fortress until the Dutch should arrive, partly from the wretched state of their people for want of food, clothes, and other necessaries. The boors daily uttered the most abominable slanders against them; and had it been in their power, it is probable they would have murdered them outright. But as they were either afraid, or had no opportunity to attack them, they left no means untried to seize on their property, and that of the Hottentots; it was even unsafe for the children to be out of their parent's sight, as they were in danger of being stolen and sent to different parts of the country. Besides, they endeavoured to blast the labours of the missionaries, by corrupting the people both in principle and practice. They attempted to make them disbelieve the word of God, and to despise the Saviour; they told them that hell was not so intolerably hot as it was said to be, but only a comfortable place, well adapted for such as, like them, smoked tobacco; they laboured to seduce them to drunkenness, uncleanness,

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 87.

and other vices; and in some instances they were too successful. Here, however, they did not even stop. Nothing short of embruing their hands in the blood of these poor people, could satiate their inveterate malice. A Hottentot and a Bastard* belonging to the institution, were murdered by them in a most horrid manner, besides many others not connected with the missionaries.†‡

In April 1803, major Von Gelter, or Gitton, arrived as commander of the fort with a small body of troops under his command; and immediately upon his arrival, the tyranny of the boors ceased. Shortly after, governor Jansens, who was travelling through the country, to examine into the causes of the disorders which every where prevailed, arrived in this quarter. His excellency's mind had been prepossessed against the institution, by the false and injurious representations which had been made of it to him, by the enemies of religion; but he now appeared to be convinced

† Miss. Trans. vol ii. p. 153.

* The term *Bastard* applied to a Hottentot, does not mean that he is illegitimate, but merely that he is of a mixed breed.

‡ Many and most shocking instances of barbarity, inflicted upon this unfortunate race of people, are recorded in a pamphlet published at the Cape, during the last peace, by baron de P——, private secretary to governor Jansens. Among others, there is an account of the murder of fifteen innocent Hottentots, who, having come to a farm to beg some hemp and tobacco, were inhumanly tortured, to extort a confession that they had come with an intention to plunder the colonists, and were afterwards shot. The following example of brutality is so shocking, that we shall give a translation of the statement: "As soon as the English had abandoned the fort at Algoa Bay, a boor named Ferraro, of a Portuguese family, made himself master of it, and kept possession of it till the arrival of a detachment of troops which government sent thither, under the command of major Von Gelter. The Caffres, fully persuaded that the late peace had put an end to all differences between them, sent to the new commander of the fort, a bullock to be slain as a test of reconciliation and friendship. The Caffre sent on this occasion, put himself under the guidance of a Hottentot: and Ferrara, by way of returning the kind intention, laid hold of the Caffre, and *broiled him alive*. As for the poor Hottentot, he bound him to a tree, *cut a piece of flesh out of his thigh, made him eat it raw*, and then released him."—*Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, article, Cape of Good Hope, vol. v. p. 599.

of the utility of the undertaking; and he assigned the missionaries a tract of land for a settlement, about ten miles in circumference, and seven miles to the northward of fort Frederick. This spot seemed in some respects preferable to Bota's Place. It was more healthy, afforded better pasturage for sheep and cattle, and furnished excellent pot-clay and lime; but it was ill adapted for producing corn; it yielded no timber, neither was there such abundance of fire-wood and water as could have been wished.*

On taking possession of this place, Mr. Read formed a square for a village, two hundred and forty paces in length, and a hundred and forty-four in breadth, which he divided into certain portions for each family. Through this there ran a brook, which divided it into two parts; the one was called Jansens' square, the other Dundas' square. About the middle of Jansens' square, the missionaries built a temporary church, and at each end of it a house for their own accommodation. They also proceeded to plough the ground, for the purpose of raising corn, and to lay out a garden, in which, besides various necessary kitchen stuffs, they planted fig, peach, and pomegranate trees. The people also erected huts for themselves, and planted extensive gardens. This place they called Bethelsdorp, or the village of Bethel.†

Amidst their various external trials, the missionaries had often no small pleasure, in witnessing the fruit of their labours among the Heathen. Many of the poor Hottentots were brought under deep concern for their souls, and appeared to be the subjects of divine grace. Of some of these it may not be uninteresting to give a short account. Cupido, previous to his conversion, was perhaps as notorious a sinner as ever was known. He was infamous for swearing, lying, and fighting, but especially for drunkenness, which often laid him on a sick bed, as he had naturally a feeble constitution. On these occasions, he often resolved to abandon that infatuating vice, and to lead a sober life; but no sooner did health

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 161, 247. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 163.

return, than he was again led captive by it. Sometimes, however, he was afraid of the anger of God, and being apprehensive that this wickedness would at length prove the ruin of his soul, he inquired of all he met with, by what means he might be delivered from the snare of drunkenness, imagining, that after he had abandoned that, it would be an easy matter to forsake his other sins. Some advised him to apply to the witches or wizzards; but these proved miserable comforters, for they told him, that his life was not worth a farthing. Others prescribed various kinds of medicines to him, but though he eagerly took them, they also proved of no avail. He was at length providentially led to Graaf Reinet, where he heard Vanderlingen declare, in a sermon, that Christ Jesus was able to save the guilty from their sins. On hearing these glad tidings, he said to himself, "That is what I want; that is what I want." His convictions of sin were afterwards greatly increased, by means of a discourse of Dr. Vanderkemp's. All his evil deeds seemed now to rise up in array before him; every word of the sermon, he thought, was directed to him. At first, indeed, this only excited in his breast a violent animosity against an old woman with whom he had lived, and by whom, he imagined, his character had been made known to the landrost's wife, and through means of her to the missionaries. This apprehension, however, was not of long duration, for as he continued to attend on the means of grace, the secrets of his heart were still further manifested, and he was, at length, obliged to exclaim, "This is not of men, but, of God!" He now became earnest in seeking after an interest in Christ, and was exceedingly zealous in promoting the salvation of others. It was often no small pleasure to the missionaries, to hear him recommend Christ Jesus, as the only saviour from sin, one who could destroy it, both root and branch, as he could testify from his own experience.*

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 166.

Samson, another of the converts, seemed to be, in some degree, prepared to receive the gospel, as soon as it was made known to him. For several years, it is said, he had felt much anxiety on the subject of religion, wishing to know, Whether there was a God; what he was; and what he required of his creatures. To this knowledge, however, he could not attain, for there was no one who could or would shew him the way to heaven. From the time that the United Brethren settled at Bavian's Kloof, he was exceedingly anxious to get out of service, in order to go to them, but he could never obtain his liberty. During the commotions of the district of Graaf Reinet, and while the boors were flying from their habitations, Samson was falsely accused of having made known to the English where they intended to go. He was immediately bound in chains, with the view of being put to death next morning; but during the night, he broke loose from his fetters, and fled to Graaf Reinet, which was at that time an asylum for hundreds of poor Hottentots, who were obliged to fly from their barbarous masters. Having arrived at this place, he found himself, to his great joy, in possession of those means of instruction for which he had been longing for several years; and he resolved never to leave them, till he had learned what was necessary to his eternal happiness. He now attended on the word with the utmost diligence; and having a good memory, he made great proficiency in Christian knowledge. By degrees, he began to see his lost state without Christ, and after some months, he was baptized by Dr. Vanderkemp, sitting in his sick-bed. Samson now became very bold in the cause of Christ, warning and admonishing sinners, of every description, to flee from the wrath to come. Whether they were persons of superior or inferior rank, he was not ashamed to avow his faith before them; nor did he fail to tell the colonists of their neglect in keeping him and his countrymen ignorant of the truths of religion.*

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 168.

The history of Kruisman, another of the converts, is likewise not unworthy of notice. He lived with a farmer in the neighbourhood, who treated him with much cruelty, on account of the wish he expressed, to come to the institution and be instructed in the word of God. He had for several years been concerned about his soul, but could get nobody to tell him who or what God was. He conceived, however, that what he saw and heard daily, such as murder, drunkenness, adultery, and swearing, could not be pleasing to him. His master's treatment of him became so intolerable, that he was compelled to complain to a magistrate, who released him from his oppressor, and gave him liberty to attend on the instructions of the missionaries. It was striking to see with what attention he listened to the truths of religion. He was now convinced that the evils which he had seen in others were no less chargeable on himself, and he began almost to despair that such a monster of iniquity could be saved; but he at length obtained, in Christ Jesus, that peace and rest, which nothing else in the world could afford him.* Some of the other converts, as is too often the case, appeared afterwards to lose much of their first love, though it was still hoped they were the monuments of divine grace; but this was not the case with Kruisman, who appears uniformly to have maintained a conduct consistent with his Christian profession. Besides learning to read and write, he appeared to make no inconsiderable progress in the knowledge and practice of true religion. "Free grace, free grace, alone," he often cried, "can bring me to heaven!"†

In April 1805, Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Read, received an order from governor Jansens to repair to Capetown without delay, in consequence of the complaints and accusations which the boors had brought against them. When this was made known to their poor people, it produced a general sensation of sorrow among them. Providentially, however, Mr. Ulbright, a new missionary, together with one or two

* Report of the Missionary Society 1806, p. 9. † Miss. Trans. vol. iii, p. 155.

other assistants, had lately come to Bethelsdorp, so that they would not be left destitute of the means of instruction. Before leaving the town, Dr. Vanderkemp addressed them from that affecting declaration of David, when he was driven from Jerusalem by the unnatural rebellion of his son Absalom: "If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again and shew me both it and his holy habitation: But if he say, I have no delight in thee, behold here am I, let him do to me as seemeth good unto him." Having taken a tender and affectionate farewell of their beloved people, the Doctor and his associate Mr. Read, proceeded on their journey, and after travelling about five weeks, arrived in safety at Capetown.* Here they were detained for several months, and had no other prospect before them but of being soon obliged to leave the country. Their frequent applications to the governor for liberty to return to their congregation at Bethelsdorp, to pursue their missionary labours in some other part of the colony, or to undertake an exploratory excursion into the countries beyond its limits, were all rejected, in consequence of the violent outcries of the boors against them, who represented them as Englishmen, and in the English interest, and therefore of dangerous influence among the inhabitants.† Such was the situation of the missionaries, when the God whom they served, and in whose cause they suffered, appeared for their deliverance, by one of those singular interpositions of His Providence, by which He has often rescued His people when their distress has reached its greatest extremity.

In January 1806, a British fleet, consisting of near sixty sail of vessels appeared off the coast, and the troops on board having landed, under the command of sir David Baird, the Cape fell into their hands after a short resistance. Immediately after, general Baird sent for Dr. Vanderkemp, and treated him with uncommon and unexpected politeness. He even took him along with him to see the Hottentot prisoners

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 2. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 4.

of war, and was so obliging as to refer it to him, whether or not they should be set at liberty.* He soon after gave him permission to return to Bethelsdorp, and for this purpose granted him one of the waggons which had been taken from the late Dutch governor, while Mr. Read, by his particular request, went by sea. On their arrival at that place, they were happy to find, that, during their absence, the congregation had enjoyed much internal prosperity. While they were at the Cape, indeed, Mrs. Smith, an aged but very zealous woman paid them a visit, and declared her resolution to go to Bethelsdorp, and to spend the rest of her days in instructing the Heathen. Having returned home, she sold her house and the remainder of her goods, and notwithstanding her age and bodily weakness, she set off for that place, undismayed by the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking.† Upon her arrival, she opened a school for teaching the Hottentot girls to knit stockings, night-caps, &c. Besides conversing privately with such of the females as seemed to be under concern about their souls, she held a weekly meeting with the baptized women, in which she instructed them in the principles of religion. She was universally beloved by the people, and by the unanimous consent of the members, was chosen a deaconess of the church.‡

Not long after his return to Bethelsdorp, Dr. Vanderkemp made a narrow escape with his life. One day as some workmen were raising a heavy frame of wood upon a house which he was building, it suddenly slipt off from the post on which it rested, struck his head, and wounded him in several places. The blood ran from both his nose and his mouth, and a tooth was forced out of his jaw; but happily his life was preserved.§ Little more than a twelvemonth after, he made another and still more remarkable escape. Two of the oxen had entangled their horns in those of each other, and as they were bent in the Caffre manner, it was impossi-

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 6.
† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 3.
‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 8.
§ Ibid, vol. iii. p. 147.

ble to separate them, without binding the animals and throwing them upon the ground. As soon however, as they were loosed, an operation in which the Doctor assisted, they sprung on their feet, burning with rage. The people fled, but one of the infuriated animals overtook the venerable old man, caught him upon its horns, and threw him on the ground to the distance of several paces. In the fall, his leg was grazed, and his hip writhed in such a manner, that he could not for some days lift it up; but yet he suffered no other material injury. It is likewise not unworthy of notice, that about this period, they had been without bread for a long time, nor did they expect to get any for three or four months to come; a privation greater, perhaps, than it is possible for persons to conceive who have never known it by experience.*

But circumstances of this description were not their only, nor even their heaviest trials. The school, which for a considerable time had been well attended by the children, began to be neglected by them: and many of the young people in the settlement broke through all restraint. Both these evils, were owing, in no small degree, to the carelessness of the parents. The indifference of a Hottentot to the welfare of his offspring is astonishing, and even almost inhuman. He has little, indeed, to stimulate him to exertion in their behalf. A slave and a drudge himself to some tyrant of a boor, he has no ambition, and scarcely any hope, of his son rising to a higher station in life. But this disorderly conduct and disregard of instruction were by no means confined to the youth. The thirst for knowledge had materially abated among the people in general, while, at the same time, the ignorance of many of them was altogether shameful. There was also a visible decay of spiritual life among numbers of those, whom the missionaries yet hoped were plants, which their Heavenly Father had planted, and which should never be rooted up by all the storms which

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 156, 199.

earth or hell might raise against them. Some by their inattention and stupidity; some by their worldly mindedness; some by more open transgressions, often occasioned them the most pungent grief. Several even of those whom they considered as the most eminent for piety, sunk most deeply in the mire. It may be remarked, however, that in many cases, their disorderly conduct was to be ascribed, not so much to the want of knowledge or of grace, as to the absence of those salutary restraints which arise from a regard to the respect and esteem of their fellow men, and which are so powerful a restriction on the behaviour of civilized nations.*

While the spiritual interests of the Hottentots were in this manner in a declining state, their temporal affairs were in a more flourishing condition. The inhabitants of Bethelsdorp increased so much, that it was necessary to surround the square which formed the town with a second, and that with a third. In 1808, the new members of the institution, including both those who came to reside in the settlement, and such as were born in the place, amounted to three hundred and eleven; but it is necessary to remark, that numbers also went away, as might naturally be expected, among a barbarous people, unaccustomed to settled habits of life. In April 1809, the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp, as appears from the following Table, amounted to no fewer than nine hundred and seventy-nine; but of these, many, from a variety of causes, were then absent, though none were included in the enumeration who had been away more than a year:

	Present.	*Absent.*	*Total.*
Men - - - -	146	113	259
Women - - -	211	121	332
Children - - -	282	106	388
	639	340	979†

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 147, 200, 289. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 294, 295.

Since that period, the population of Bethelsdorp has still further increased;* and, according to the latest accounts, it consisted of no fewer than 1150 persons. It must not, however, be supposed, that all these are considered by the missionaries as Christian converts. Most of them are merely inhabitants of the place, and, of course, enjoy the means of instruction. We have not of late had any particular account of the numbers of the baptized; but we do not apprehend, that since the commencement of the mission, they will much exceed two hundred, and even of these about one half are children.†

As they have increased so much in number, they have likewise made great improvement in industry. The knitting school for the girls had succeeded beyond expectation, and more than supported itself. The demand for stockings and night-caps from fort Frederick was greater than they were able to supply, especially for short stockings or socks, to which the military officers were very partial. Mats and Caffre baskets were also made in the settlement in great quantities, and sold at the fort and in other parts of the country. A considerable traffic was carried on in salt, which the people sold to the colonists, or bartered for clothing, wheat, flour, and other necessary articles. It is not unworthy of notice, that the farmers now brought their goods to Bethelsdorp in waggons, as to a market-place. Soap boiling, cutting and sawing of wood, were likewise carried on to a considerable extent, and to the no small advantage of the inhabitants. Mr. Read at one time speaks of a number of their people having gone to Graaf Reinet, with six thousand feet of boards for sale, which would bring them about 200*l.* a large sum certainly to be gained by Hottentots on one adventure. Their fields, too, were covered with cattle, sheep, and goats; and such was the abundance of milk and butter,

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 391, 403.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 161, 395, 403. Report Miss. Soc. 1808, p. 17. Ibid. 1813, p. 29.

that they employed the latter article in the manufacture of soap. According to the last accounts they had no fewer than 2000 horned cattle, including calves; 1200 sheep and goats; 174 horses, and great numbers of pigs and poultry; together with twenty waggons, besides carts. Notwithstanding the very unfavourable nature of the soil, even agriculture has begun to flourish among them. The Hottentots have become diligent in cleaning and tilling the ground; and lately, besides other kinds of grain and vegetables, they sowed, in one year, upwards of a hundred sacks of wheat, which they expected would yield fifteen hundred. Even more than this would have been sown, but some had no plough, and others no seed. We are informed, that among the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp, there are no fewer than eighteen trades, namely, smiths, carpenters, waggon-makers, basket-makers, blanket-makers, pipe-makers, sawyers, turners, hewers of wood, carriers, soap-boilers, mat-manufacturers, stocking-makers, tailors, brick-makers, thatchers, coopers, and lime-burners; likewise, an auctioneer and a miller.* These facts sufficiently demonstrate, how little truth there is in the representations of certain writers, who tell us, that the missionaries at Bethelsdorp have totally neglected the temporal improvement of their converts. To this we may add, that as there were several of the baptized, besides others among the people, who understood no language but the Hottentot, they, at an early period, drew up and printed in that uncouth dialect, the outlines of the Christian religion in the form of a catechism, under the title of "Tzitzika Thuickwedi meka Khwekhwenama," that is, "Principles of the Word of God for the Hottentot Nation."† This probably was the first, and perhaps the only work that was ever printed in the Hottentot language.

In March 1811, Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Read set off

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 293, 301, 391, 404, 406. Report Miss. Soc. 1813, p. 29. Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 434.

† Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 239.

from Bethelsdorp for Capetown, having been summoned to appear before an extraordinary commission, which had been appointed by his excellency lord Caledon, the governor, to afford their evidence in the investigation of numerous charges of cruelty and murder, committed by the boors in the vicinity of Bethelsdorp, of which the missionaries had repeatedly made the most urgent complaints. They communicated to the commissioners more than a hundred cases of Hottentots, said to have been murdered, chiefly since their institution was settled in that place. In consequence of this information, his excellency directed, that the commissioners should personally visit the several districts in which these enormities were alledged to have been committed, to examine more particularly into them, and, on conviction, to punish the guilty.* Happy shall we be, should this inquiry check in future the cruelties of the boors, and promote the security of the poor oppressed Hottentots.

Numerous as had been Dr. Vanderkemp's trials in the establishment of the mission at Bethelsdorp, yet as he thought it had now attained such a degree of stability, as that it might safely be committed to the care of a younger missionary, he resolved, notwithstanding his advanced age, and his many infirmities, to undertake a new mission to some other part of the world, where the gospel of Christ was yet unknown; and he at length fixed on the island of Madagascar as the scene of his future labours.† That populous and long-neglected country had for many years engaged his particular attention; and he longed to communicate to its benighted inhabitants the blessings of the gospel of peace. His health, indeed, had been visibly on the decline for some time, and his friends contemplated, with painful apprehensions, his projected mission to Madagascar. In consequence of successive strokes of apoplexy, he could scarcely use his right leg, and often expected, when he left home, that he

* Report Miss. Soc. 1812, p. 3. Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 205, 396, 398.

† Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 369; vol. ii. p. 245; vol. iii. p. 5.

would not again return. Nothing, however, could shake his resolution of proceeding to Madagascar, until a gentleman called one day, and made some observations on the impropriety of either Mr. Read or him leaving the colony at that juncture; that having laid before government numerous details of complaints, in which many persons were involved, their leaving the country before the business was investigated, would seem as if they were afraid to abide the inquiry. This consideration appeared to wound his generous heart; and from that time he was in great perplexity with regard to the path of duty. Sometimes he thought of going to England on account of the poor suffering Hottentots, and also to secure for his children a good education; but he appears to have relinquished this idea, and his mind still hankered after Madagascar. His colleague Mr. Read, had never known him in such a state of uncertainty and distress; and it is probable, that this tended not a little to hasten his dissolution.*

One morning, after he had expounded a chapter of the Bible, much to the satisfaction of some pious friends, he found himself very unwell, and said to the venerable Mrs. Smith, who had now returned to Capetown, "My dear friend, I feel very weak, and could wish that I might have time to settle my own affairs." Such, however, was not the will of God. He was seized with a cold shivering, and other symptoms of fever, and was under the necessity of retiring to bed. From that bed he rose no more. His disorder rapidly increased, notwithstanding the use of suitable remedies. A lethargic heaviness suppressed his mental powers. He was almost incapable of speaking; and it was with extreme difficulty, he could be prevailed on to answer the simplest question. A day or two before his departure, Mrs. Smith asked him, What was the state of his mind. To this inquiry, he, with a smile on his countenance, gave this short but emphatic reply, "All is well." At length, after a short illness

* Report Miss. Soc. 1812. p. 5. Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 405.

of about eight days, he breathed his last on the Lord's day morning, December 15th, 1811, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his labours, as a missionary among the Heathen.* Thus died the apostolic Dr. Vanderkemp, a man who, for natural talents, for extensive learning, for elevated piety, for ardent zeal, for disinterested benevolence, for unshaken perseverance, for unfeigned humility, for primitive simplicity, was certainly one of the most extraordinary characters which either this or any other age has produced. Holding, as he does, so distinguished a place as a man, as a Christian, and as a missionary, it may not be uninteresting to add a little of his early history, together with a few circumstances illustrative of his general character.

Dr. Vanderkemp was born at Rotterdam in 1748, his father being a pious and worthy minister of the Dutch church in that city. At an early period of life, he entered the university of Leyden, and so astonishing was his progress in literature, that it is said, those who were best acquainted with him, considered him as a most extraordinary man, and as promising to be one of the most distinguished characters of the age. On leaving that seat of learning, he entered the army, in which he rose to be a captain of horse, and lieutenant of the dragoon guards. Unhappy, however, he had imbibed the principles of infidelity, and, casting off the restraints of a religious education, he became, to use his own words, "the slave of vice and ungodliness." Such was the impression which this made on the mind of his excellent father, that it is said to have accelerated his death. Marriage, however, produced some external reformation, and put a period to such irregularities as were of a scandalous nature. After spending sixteen years in the army, he quitted that service, in which, had he continued, it is said, he had the prospect of rising to the first rank, being no less distinguished for military courage, than for extensive learning. Hav-

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 409.

ing determined to enter on the practice of medicine, a profession for which his qualifications were already considerable, he, with the view of further improvement, came to the university of Edinburgh, where, for two years, he pursued his studies with unremitting assiduity. During his residence in that city, he published a Latin work on Cosmology, entitled *Parmenides;* and having obtained the degree of doctor in medicine, he returned to his native country, and began to practise as a physician at Middleburg, in the island of Zealand. A singularity in the management of his business is not unworthy of notice. He would never admit on his list of patients more than twelve at one time, in order that he might be able to study the case of each more carefully, and to devote his whole attention to their recovery.—After practising physic for some time at this place, he retired to Dort, intending to spend the rest of his days in literary pursuits, and in rural amusements.*

During this period, Dr. Vanderkemp continued to maintain the principles of infidelity. His views, however, were singular, perhaps peculiar to himself. "Christianity," says he, "appeared to me inconsistent with reason; the Bible a collection of incoherent opinions, tales, and prejudices.—With regard to the character of Christ, I looked upon him as a man of sense and learning; but who, by his opposition to the ecclesiastical and political maxims of the Jews, became the object of their hatred, and fell a martyr to his own system. I often celebrated the memorial of his death; but at length reflecting, that he called himself the Son of God, and professed to perform miracles, he lost all my former veneration.†

I then prayed that God would prepare me, by punishing my sins, for virtue and happiness; I thanked him for every misfortune; but I soon found, that though often severely chastened, I was neither wiser nor better. I therefore prayed to

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 349, 352. Memoir of Dr. Vanderkemp, p. 3.
† Ibid. vol. i. p. 355.

God, that he would shew me, in every instance, the particular crime for which he corrected me, that so I might know and avoid it; but finding this in vain, I was apprehensive I should never be amended by means of punishment, at least in the present life. Still, however, I hoped, that after death, I might be delivered from moral evil, by more severe sufferings, in some kind of purgatory; but reflecting afterwards that punishment had proved totally ineffectual in producing even the lowest degree of virtue in my breast, I was constrained to acknowledge, that my principle, however plausible in theory, was completely refuted by experience. I now concluded, that to discover the true path to virtue and happiness was entirely beyond the reach of my reason. I confessed my impotence and ignorance to God, acknowledged that I was like a blind man who had lost his road, and waited, in hope, that some benevolent person would pass by, and lead him in the right path. In this manner, I waited on God, in the hope that he would take me by the hand, and guide me in the way everlasting. Still, however, I could not entirely relinquish my favourite idea, of being corrected by means of punishment; and I continued to look on the divinity and atonement of Christ, as doctrines at once useless and blasphemous, though I kept this opinion to myself."*

Such was the state of Dr. Vanderkemp's mind, when, in June 1791, while he was taking a pleasure sail with his wife and daughter, a water spout suddenly overtook them, and upsetting the boat, they all sunk before they even apprehended any danger. Both his beloved relations were drowned, and he himself was carried down the stream about a mile, and must likewise speedily have perished, had not a vessel lying in the harbour of Dort, been rent from its moorings by the storm, and driven out towards him, when the people on board observing a person floating on the side of the wreck, rescued him from a watery grave.†

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 355. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 356.

This dreadful event Dr. Vanderkemp considered as the severest punishment that could have befallen him; yet next day he clearly perceived that it had no more power to amend him, than all his former trials; and hence he concluded, that his state was desperate, and that he was abandoned by God as incurable by correction. On the following Sabbath, however he went to church. The Lord's Supper was to be administered that day, and though it was utterly inconsistent with his principles to join in commemorating the death of one whom he considered as an impostor, yet being ashamed to withdraw from the table, he sat down among the communicants; but in order to divert his thoughts from the ordinance, he indulged in some such meditation as this: "My God, I could not acquiesce in thy dealings with me, nor submit to thy will; but now I can. I choose to be deprived of my wife and child, because it is thy will. Accept them at my hands. I trust them entirely to thee."*

But while he was indulging in these musings, his thoughts were insensibly directed toward Christ Jesus. "It pleased God to reveal his Son in him, that he might preach among the Gentiles, the unsearchable riches of Christ." In the reflections of his mind, on this occasion, there appear, indeed, considerable workings of the imagination, tinctured, perhaps, with some degree of enthusiasm; yet, of the reality of the change, not even the shadow of a doubt can remain. The fruits which followed afford the clearest and most satisfactory evidence, that he was not only no longer an infidel, but a Christian of distinguished eminence.†

Soon after this memorable event, Dr. Vanderkemp was introduced into a new scene of labour, in which the renovated dispositions of his mind had an opportunity of displaying themselves in his outward conduct. In 1793, on the commencement of the war with France, a large hospital was erected in the neighbourhood of Rotterdam, and as he was well known, not only as an officer of merit, in a military

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 356. † Ibid.

capacity, but as a physician of distinguished eminence, he was appointed the director and superintendent of that institution. His management of this extensive and important establishment, reflected the highest honour upon him. The patients loved him as a father; the servants obeyed him as children. Besides attending to their temporal welfare, Dr. Vanderkemp endeavoured to promote their spiritual interests. Two or three times a week, he procured a catechist to instruct them; and on the Lord's day, he had public worship regularly performed among them. By the invasion of the French, however, this hospital was at length broken up, after which Dr. Vanderkemp retired to Dort to live on his private fortune.*

At this place he led a retired, but not an idle life, being engaged in extensive study, particularly of Oriental literature, and exhibiting an amiable example of the power of religion in his daily conduct. From this state of retirement, indeed, it was not long before he was roused. Having received a copy of an address from the Missionary Society in London, to the friends of religion in Germany, it made a deep impression upon his mind; and this was still further strengthened, by afterwards reading the sermons which were preached at the formation of that institution. He was particularly struck with the following quotations from Deborah's song: "Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." On reading these words, he fell on his knees, and exclaimed, "Here am I, Lord Jesus. Thou knowest, I have no will of my own, since I devoted myself to thy service. Preserve me only from doing any thing, in this great work, in a carnal self-sufficient spirit, and lead me in the right way." He soon after offered himself to the Missionary Society, and made choice of South Africa as the scene of his labours; a choice in which the directors acquiesced, in deference to his wish-

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 350.

es, though they would rather he had settled in some more civilized quarter of the world.*

Having come over to London, he was not unemployed during his residence in that city, but eagerly directed his attention to whatever he thought might promote the success of his labours. Among other circumstances, the following is not unworthy of notice, as a proof both of his humility and his zeal. Apprehending that an acquaintance with the method of making bricks might be useful in such a country as South Africa, he employed himself for a short time in the mechanical part of that business, in the neighbourhood of London. Conduct so condescending and disinterested, ennobles the character of a man of science, such as Dr. Vanderkemp was, and reminds us of that distinguished personage Peter the Great of Russia, who, with a view to the improvement of his empire, wrought *incognito*, as a shipwright in the dock-yards of Holland and Britain, that he might learn to instruct his subjects in the art of naval architecture.†

Dr. Lichtenstein, who travelled through Southern Africa a few years ago, has thrown out a number of calumnies on the character of Dr. Vanderkemp, and the other missionaries from Holland and England, particularly for neglecting, as he pretends, to instruct the Hottentots in the useful arts of life, but yet he has unwittingly mentioned a circumstance, which, while it suggests a refutation of some of the falsehoods which he states, presents, at the same time, an interesting picture of the humility of this illustrious man. "On our arrival," says he, "at Algoa bay, the commissary-general received a visit from Dr. Vanderkemp. In the very hottest part of the morning, he saw a waggon, such as is used in husbandry, drawn by four meagre oxen, coming slowly along the sandy downs. Vanderkemp sat upon a plank laid across it, without a hat; his venerable bald head

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 351, 353.

† Memoir of Dr. Vanderkemp, p. 14.

exposed to the burning rays of the sun. He was dressed in a thread-bare black coat, waistcoat, and breeches, without shirt, neckcloth, or stockings; and leather sandals bound upon his feet, the same as are worn by the Hottentots. The commissary-general hastened to meet and receive him with the utmost kindness. He descended from his car, and approached with slow and measured steps, presenting to our view a tall, meagre, yet venerable figure. In his serene countenance might be traced remains of former beauty; and in his eye, still full of fire, was plainly to be discerned, the powers of mind which had distinguished his early years. Instead of the usual salutations, he uttered a short prayer, in which he begged a blessing upon our chief and his company, and the protection of heaven during the remainder of our journey. He then accompanied us into the house, when he entered into conversation freely, upon many subjects, without any superciliousness or affected solemnity.*

We shall only further add, that Dr. Vanderkemp, during his labours in Africa, was so anxious to lessen, as far as possible, the expences of the mission, that he generally supported himself with little or no cost to the Missionary Society. It may also be mentioned, as a proof of his singular benevolence, that he, at various times, purchased the liberty of several slaves in the colony, out of his own private fortune. In the course of three years, he redeemed seven of these unfortunate beings, at no less expence than about 800*l.* Circumstances such as these, illustrate more forcibly the character of a man, than any laboured description it is possible to draw.†

* Lichtenstein's Travels in Southern Africa, in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806, p. 237.

† Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 203, 249. Memoir of Dr. Vanderkemp, p. 37.

ARTICLE II.

Zak River.

IN May 1799, Messrs. Kicherer and Edwards left Cape-town, with the view of proceeding to Zak River, a small brook about four or five hundred miles to the north east of that place. It was originally intended that they should have been engaged in the same mission as Dr. Vanderkemp; but owing to the following circumstances, it was agreed to change their destination to that part of the country. A few days previous to their arrival at the Cape, three Boschemen had come thither from Zak River, with the view of soliciting government to send teachers among them. It appears that the farmers who lived in the back settlements, had of late been greatly molested by the depredations of the neighbouring savages; and, in order to prevent similar calamities in future, the landrost had advised them to purchase a peace, at the expence of several thousand sheep. At the ratification of this contract, some of the colonists offered up a prayer in the presence of the Boschemen, who, in reply to their inquiries concerning the nature and design of this action, were informed, that it was with the view of imploring the blessing of God Almighty, who is the source of every good, and that their ignorance and neglect of this Great Being were the cause of their comparative poverty and wretchedness. On receiving this explanation, the savages expressed their earnest desire that suitable persons might come and reside among them, and give them those valuable instructions, which would enable them to become as rich and happy as their neighbours. With this view, they were directed to the government at the Cape; and as this appeared to be a providential call to go and visit them, it was agreed, that while Vanderkemp and Edmonds proceeded into Caffraria,

Kicherer and Edwards should undertake a mission among the Boschemen.*

In the course of their journey to Zak River, the missionaries experienced much kindness from the colonists, who not only treated them with the utmost hospitality, but furnished them with oxen for their waggons, and made them many other valuable presents. After being detained for sometime at Rodezand, they set off for the house of Florus Fischer, who possessed the last farm in the Karroo. This is a vast tract of land, of many days journey, so dry in the summer as not to produce a blade of grass; but happily for our travellers, it afforded, at this time, sufficient pasture for their cattle, and for those of the surrounding inhabitants, who, hearing of their journey, came from all parts to hear the gospel. Having at length arrived at Florus Fischer's, they continued here three weeks, during which they enjoyed many a crowded and happy meeting with the neighbouring farmers, particularly on the Sabbath, when they once had twenty-two waggons full of people, besides many on horseback, some of whom came four days journey to hear the word of God, and to partake of the Lord's Supper; for numbers of these people had no church which they could attend nearer than Rodezand, a distance of eight days journey.†

Having prepared for their journey, they set off for Zak River, accompanied by their generous host Mr. Fischer, with several other farmers and their servants, to the number of about fifty; and in their train, they had six waggons full of provisions, sixty oxen, and near two hundred sheep, as presents from the Dutch colonists. In the course of their journey, they were much infested by lions, panthers, tigers, and other beasts of prey; but providentially they all escaped unhurt. Having, at length, arrived at Zak River, they fixed on a spot for a settlement, which they called Happy Prospect Fountain. It was near two fine springs of water, and there was a good piece of ground for cultivation; but the surround-

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 1. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 2.

ing country was barren, and the inhabitants few in number. Here the missionaries immediately began to prepare a plot for a garden, and to build themselves a hut of reeds, these being the best materials they could find for that purpose, as not a tree grew in the country.*

After a few days, Mr. Fischer and their other friends left them, and returned home. This, as may easily be conceived, was a severe trial to the missionaries. "I well remember," says Mr. Kicherer, "how deeply my spirits were depressed about this time, and how insupportable my situation would have been, separated, as I found myself, from all I loved in this world, had not urgent business dispersed my gloomy reflections, and had not the Lord, whom I served, condescended to pacify my troubled heart, when I spread my complaint before him. This was particularly the case one evening, when, sitting on a stone surrounded by a circle of Boschemen, I attempted to convey the first religious instructions to their untutored minds.†

It may not be improper to introduce in this place some account of this barbarous people. They have no idea of the Supreme Being, and consequently they practise no kind of worship. They have, however, a superstitious reverence for a little insect, known by the name of the Creeping-leaf, a sight of which, they conceive, indicates something fortunate, and to kill it, they suppose, will bring a curse upon the perpetrator. They have also some notion of an evil spirit, which they imagine produces mischief, particularly the diseases which they suffer; and in order to counteract his malicious purposes, they employ a certain description of men to blow, and make a humming noise over the sick; a practice which they sometimes continue for many hours together.‡

Their manners of life is extremely wretched and disgusting. They delight to smear their bodies with the fat of ani-

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 5. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 6.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 6.

mals, mixed with a certain kind of powder, which gives them a glossy appearance. They are utter strangers to cleanliness, as they never wash their bodies; and they even allow the dirt to accumulate to such a degree, that sometimes it hangs a considerable way from their elbows. Nothing can exceed their desire of tobacco. They are so much addicted to smoking, that the women and children, as well as the men, would rather suffer hunger than want this noxious herb.—They form their huts, by digging a hole in the earth about three feet deep, and then covering it with reeds, which are not, however, sufficient to keep out the rain. Here they lie close together, like so many pigs in a stye. They are extremely lazy, so that nothing will rouse them to action but excessive hunger. They will continue several days together without food, rather than be at the pains to procure it.—When constrained to sally forth in quest of prey, they are extremely dexterous in destroying the various kinds of animals which abound in the country. The wild beasts they always shoot with poisoned darts. They extract the poison from the jaw-bone of the serpent, and insert it in the point of their arrow or harping iron. They then creep behind the small bushes, where they conceal themselves and attack the beast, at about the distance of a hundred steps. If the dart wounds it in the slightest degree, they are sure of their prey. Sometimes the animal falls down dead immediately; in other cases, it flies, which obliges them to pursue it. Having at length taken it, they cut out the wounded part, and eat the rest of the carcase without injury. When they are on these hunting expeditions, it is said they can run for several days together, and are able to hold out as well as a horse. If, however, they are unsuccessful in the chase, they make a shift to live upon snakes, mice, and such other creatures as they can find, however loathsome they may be.—There are also spontaneous productions of the earth, of the bulbous kind, which they eat, particularly the cameron, which is as large as a child's head, and the baroo, which is

about the size of an apple. In general, however, they are no great admirers of vegetable food.*

The Boschemen are total strangers to domestic happiness. Polygamy is common among them, and, as might be expected, conjugal affection is little known. They take no great care of their children, and it is said they never correct them except in a fit of anger, when they almost kill them by their severity. In a quarrel between a father and mother, or between the several wives of the same man, the defeated party takes revenge on the child of the conqueror, which, in general, loses its life. It is even not uncommon for the Boschemen to murder their children, when they are in want of food, when they are obliged to flee from the farmers or other enemies, when the infant is ill-shaped, or when the father has forsaken its mother. In these cases, they will strangle them, smother them, cast them away in the desert, or bury them alive. There are even instances of parents throwing their tender offspring to the hungry lion, who stands roaring before their cavern, refusing to depart till some peace-offering is presented to him. In general, their children cease to be the object of a mother's care, as soon as they are able to crawl about the field. They go out in the morning, and when they return in the evening, an old sheep's skin to lie upon, and a little milk, or piece of meat, are all they have to expect. In some few instances, however, you meet with a spark of natural affection, which places these savages on a level with the brute creation.†

As the Boschemen are so unnatural to their offspring, it is not wonderful though they treat their aged relations with indifference and neglect. When removing from place to place for the purpose of hunting, they frequently forsake their old friends in the desert. In these cases, they leave them a piece of meat, and an ostrich egg-shell full of water. As soon as this little stock is exhausted, the poor deserted crea-

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 7, 13. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 8.

tures must perish of hunger, or become the prey of the wild beasts.*

Many of the Boschemen live by plunder and murder, and are guilty of the most horrid and atrocious crimes. Such, indeed, is the horror and detestation with which they are viewed in the country, that a colonist thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action, than the murder of one of these wretched people. A boor from Graaf Reinet being asked, in the secretary's office at Capetown, if the savages were numerous or troublesome upon the road, replied, with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of so many patridges, that he had shot only four. Mr. Barrow informs us, that he himself heard one of the colonists boast of having destroyed, with his own hands, near three hundred of these unfortunate wretches.†

Such were the people among whom Providence had called the missionaries to labour. The number of Boschemen who came to them now increased considerably; and it was not long before they afforded them some encouragement in their work. Mr. Kicherer informs us, that he often felt inexpressibly happy, when setting forth to these poor perishing creatures, the infinite grace of the Redeemer. Frequently he began his work sighing, and concluded it exulting with gladness of heart. It was very affecting to observe, how amazed they were when he told them of a God, and of the resurrection of the dead. They knew not how to express their astonishment in language sufficiently strong, that they should have lived so long without ever having thought of the Supreme Being. Sometimes, the impression which his addresses made upon them was so great, that it appeared as if there could be no doubt of success; at other times, the natural inconstancy of the savages seemed to reverse every promising sign.‡

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 8.

† Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 8. Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa, vol. i. p. 85

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 9, 11.

Many of the Boschemen now began to pray, and in their prayers, they discovered much of the simplicity that is natural to untutored minds: "O Lord Jesus Christ," they would say, "thou hast made the sun, the moon, the hills, the rivers, the bushes, therefore thou hast power also to change my heart: O be pleased to make it entirely new!" Some declared that they had not been able to sleep all night for sorrow on account of their sins, and that they had been forced to rise and pray. Others said, that on their hunting expeditions, they had felt a sudden impulse to prostrate themselves before the Lord, and to ask for a new heart. But though many of them now seemed to pray to God there was reason to doubt the sincerity of some of them, as there was no suitable alteration in their lives, but instead of this, much Pharisaical ostentation, mechanical profession, and, it was feared, interested views; for some of them seemed to pray with no other design than to obtain a piece of tobacco.

There were several, however, who discovered some tokens of a work of grace in their hearts: they not only expressed themselves in an experimental manner, but manifested a visible change in their external conduct. One of them, named Baasjee, often exclaimed, "O that I might be so happy as to know the Lord Jesus!" When asked his reason for this, he replied, with much simplicity, "Why should I not, when I am so afraid of the great fire, If I put my finger into the ashes only, I feel most exquisite pain: What then must it be to suffer everlasting burnings? But to have the Lord Jesus for my friend, and the blessed heaven you describe, who would not long for that?" His wife Autjee appeared no less promising. She never neglected the meetings of the congregation; and besides joining in prayer three times a day, she used to retire to solitary places for the same sacred exercise. The captain Abraham likewise often withdrew to pray to God for a new heart, and though he did not speak much, yet the missionaries could not but entertain a good opinion of him.*

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 329; vol. ii. p. 8.

When the missionaries first entered upon their work, they laboured to convince their hearers by arguments addressed to their understandings, but their endeavours in this way were attended with little success. The savages continually raised objections to what was said, and it was often no easy matter to answer them to their satisfaction. The missionaries then had recourse to that method, which, in the days of the Apostle Paul, as well as in modern ages, has been found the most effectual mean of converting the Heathen. They insisted chiefly on the dying love of Christ in a simple and affectionate manner; they represented him as an all-sufficient Saviour for lost and helpless sinners; they earnestly invited them to come to him, that they might be saved. After they adopted this method, their labours were attended with remakable success. From time to time, numbers of their hearers, who before were impenetrable as a rock, came to them, and with tears in their eyes, declared, that they now perceived more and more the truth and excellency of the gospel, which they found to be the power of God to their salvation. This was particularly the case with the Hottentots who attended upon their ministrations.*

It is also worthy of notice, that, about this time, Mr. Kicherer was, in a peculiar manner, impressed with the necessity and importance of prayer. He was often enabled to bend his knees, with his little flock, before Him who had promised to take the Heathen for his inheritance, and to wrestle with him for a blessing on his labours. Frequently, the more dark and gloomy the prospect was, the more abundantly was the spirit of supplication poured out upon him. He felt a happy freedom in pleading the promises of the Redeemer, in relying upon his faithfulness to fulfil them, and in commending the poor savages to his compassion and love.†

As the Boschemen now flocked to them in considerable numbers, the missionaries were obliged, for the sake of dis-

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 12. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 9.

tinguishing one from another, to give them names, which they wrote with chalk on their backs; accordingly, when any one approached them, the first thing he did was to shew them his shoulders. Besides instructing them in the principles of religion, the missionaries made it their study to excite a spirit of industry among them, and for this purpose they gave them little presents; to the men, tobacco, to the women, handkerchiefs, and dried fruit to the children. Mr. Kicherer's own garden now began to assume a flourishing aspect, and promised soon to enable him to supply at least twenty guests, besides occasional food for the Boschemen; but these people, as we have already mentioned, have no great relish for vegetables. Indeed, they would scarcely eat them at all, unless he saved them the trouble of cooking them, and took them to their huts ready for use.*

In January 1800, Mr. Kicherer found it necessary to take a journey to Capetown, for the purpose of procuring supplies for his people, particularly clothes. A number of the Boschemen, who had never been at the Cape, offered to accompany him; a circumstance which afforded him great satisfaction, as it was a certain proof, that the suspicions they had at first entertained of him and his companions were declining, and that they felt an increasing confidence in them. They travelled agreeably, though slowly; the whole company, both old and young, being obliged to walk all the way. After a journey of about a month, they reached Capetown; but as they approached that place, the feelings of the Boschemen were widely different from those of Mr. Kicherer. He anticipated, with delight, the pleasing scenes before him; but they were struck with terror and dismay. Some of the first objects which presented themselves to their view, were several malefactors hung in chains for their crimes; and many of the Boschemen were conscious that they deserved a similar punishment. A few days after, their terror was still further increased, by beholding the execution

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 11, 13.

of another criminal. Mr. Kicherer embraced this opportunity of explaining to them the nature and excellence of the European system of justice, which appointed civil governors for the punishment of evil doers, and the reward of the good. By this they were pacified: they allowed the propriety of the thing, and said, it would be happy for them, if a similar order could be established among them.*

Soon after his arrival at Capetown, Mr. Kicherer was called to preach in the Calvinist church, a very capacious building, and crowded with a very genteel auditory. His Boschemen who accompanied him, were much struck with the sight of so great a number of well dressed people, whom, in their simplicity, they compared to a nest of ants: and the sound of the organ was, at first, mistaken by them for the humming noise of a bee-hive. From that time, they entertained a higher idea of their minister; for before, they had been tempted to consider him as a beggarly fellow, who had come among them merely to obtain a livelihood. He embraced every proper opportunity of introducing them into Christian company and religious meetings. From this they derived much advantage, being thereby convinced of two things, namely, that the doctrine he had preached to them was agreeable to the common creed of Christians; and that Christians, in general, were much happier than Boschemen.†

Having finished their business at the Cape, Mr. Kicherer and his Boschemen set off on their return home; but their journey proved very uncomfortable, as the country was completely inundated by the copious rains which had lately fallen. At length, however, they arrived at the Happy Prospect Fountain; and though they left home without any thing, they now brought back with them one hundred and thirty-six sheep, and four cows, which had been presented to them by the colonists.‡

During their absence, a captain of the Boschemen, named Vigilant, came to the settlement, in order to seize a sheep

* Miss. Trans. vol ii. p. 13. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 14. ‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 15.

as his due; and as Mr. Kramer, a native of the Cape, who had lately joined Mr. Kicherer, opposed him, the wretch stabbed the animal, and then aimed a thrust at the missionary; but providentially his life was preserved by the interposition of a girl, who warded off the blow with her karass or sheep-skin. The assassin, being seized by Mr. Kramer, was conveyed to the next farmer Florus Fischer, who put him into confinement, with the view of sending him to be tried at Capetown. Having escaped, however, from his keepers, he came to the settlement soon after Mr. Kicherer's return, foaming with rage, and calling on his numerous followers to assist him in revenging the affront. The situation of the missionaries was now extremely critical; but that very night, they were joined by Mr. Scholtz, a new assistant from the Cape, together with a farmer and his servants, whose timely arrival had the happy effect of driving the infuriated chief from their neighbourhood. On this occasion, they witnessed the friendly disposition of some of the Boschemen towards them; for while their lives were in danger, many of their people kept watch around their habitation.*

Having now removed from Happy Prospect Fountain to Zak River, they were here joined by many of the Hottentots; but though they increased in numbers, they did not appear to increase also in grace; and, indeed, Mr. Kicherer had often cause to fear that no lasting impression had been made on these fickle people, a circumstance which occasioned him great heaviness of heart.†

Just about this time, Mr. Kicherer received an invitation to be a minister at the Pearl, a village near Capetown, with a handsome church. His mind was greatly perplexed respecting it, as he knew not whether he should consider this as a temptation to divert him from his labours among the Heathen, or as a call from God to a more useful situation. Having, however, had recourse to prayer, and besought the

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 15. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 15.

Lord to direct him in the path of duty, he soon recovered his usual composure, and, from certain providential circumstances, he was led to conclude, that it was not the will of God, he should remove to the Pearl; and, from that very time, the Lord condescended to bless his labours in a remarkable manner, so that many of the people, whose hearts had been harder than the rocks among which they lived, began to cry out, "What must we do to be saved?" Frequently, the hills literally resounded with their loud complaints.*

One of the first converts, at this time, was the old Bastard Hottentot John. For some time past, he had felt a strong inclination to come and hear the word of God. From this design, some of the neighbouring farmers endeavoured to dissuade him, telling him that the missionaries would either sell or kill him. But notwithstanding these base insinuations, he came and heard the word; and though he had formerly been an atrocious offender, he had not sat many days under the sound of the gospel, when he began to cry aloud under a painful sense of his sins, which he compared for number to the sands of the desert. After mourning for some time on account of his transgressions, he began to speak of the love of Christ to sinners in general, and to himself in particular. This was now his darling topic all the day long; and, as he spake of it, his eyes overflowed with tears of love, and gratitude, and joy. His heart was so entirely engrossed with the things of God, that he could scarcely bear to talk of any thing else. When business of a worldly nature was mentioned to him, he would say, "O! I have spoken too much about the world; let me now talk of Christ." Indeed, he did speak of him in a manner truly surprising; and, as Mr. Kicherer was persuaded, he had never heard any person mention the same things, it appeared evident, that he was eminently taught of God. In the meanwhile, his walk and conversation were such as corresponded with his Christian

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 17.

profession. When in a state of Heathenism, he had married four wives, and he had still two at the time of his coming to hear the gospel. One day, he came to Mr. Kicherer, and said, He must put away his two wives: and on being asked the reason of this, he answered, "Because when I go to God in prayer, my heart tells me it is bad; and Christ is more near to me than ten thousand wives. I will support them; I will work for them; and I will stay till God change their hearts: Then I will take the first whose heart is changed." After a short period of five or six months, it pleased the Lord to visit him with a disorder from which he never recovered. Still, however, he insisted on being carried to the place of worship, saying, that as long as he could hear, he would endeavour to catch some of the words of life.—Two days before his death, when Mr. Kicherer asked him how he felt, he replied, "A little low-spirited; for though I am certain, that I have surrendered my whole self to Christ, from the moment I first saw his loveliness, yet I am not so sure at present that he has accepted of the offer." Mr. Kicherer endeavoured to satisfy him on this head; but the dying man found no satisfaction till the day of his departure, when he said to his beloved teacher, "I now see that the Lord Jesus hath loved me with an everlasting love; that he has accepted of me; and that he will be my portion forever: and now, though I am the vilest sinner on earth, yet relying on his blood and righteousness, I will die and go to Christ,"*

His eldest son, Cornelius, who was a servant to a farmer at some distance, came to visit him just at this moment. On beholding him, he burst into tears, and said, "Ah! my father dies so happy in Jesus, and I have no opportunity of hearing the gospel!" Moved by his grief, Mr. Kicherer wrote to his master, requesting him to permit him to come and live with the congregation. To this he received a very Christian letter in reply, saying, that though he would not, on any other account, have parted with his best servant, yet

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 17.

for the sake of the gospel, he would give him leave to come. Cornelius now joined the congregation, and it pleased God to bless the word to his soul also. At first, he cried mightily to the Lord to pardon his sins, and thought to move him by the earnestness of his entreaties, but he found no peace of mind, till he at length learned, that he could be justified only by the blood of Christ: then he obtained peace of conscience, through the merits of the Redeemer. His heart was now filled with admiration, love, and gratitude, on account of the kindness which Christ Jesus had manifested to him; and he felt a strong desire to proclaim the grace of the Saviour to his fellow-men. He even thought himself called upon to forsake his wife and children, and go to distant tribes to preach salvation to them. For six months, he struggled against this impulse; his body wasted away under the secret conflict, for he concealed from every creature what passed in his bosom. He at length suddenly flung his knapsack over his shoulders, and marched off into the wilderness; but after engaging in prayer, he relinquished his design, and returned home. Here he conducted himself in a pious manner, and promised, at some future period, to be useful among his countrymen.*

Though we must pass many other instances of the power of religion among these savages, yet we cannot omit the case of Esther, a Coranna by birth. When she made her first appearance among the congregation, Mr. Kicherer could scarcely persuade himself she was of the human species, her karass was so filthy, and her whole carriage so extremely brutal. Many a time he thought, "Surely it is impossible that such a being should ever be converted! But where "sin abounded, grace did much more abound." Her penitential tears soon began to flow under the preaching of the word; and when she was asked, "Why she wept?" She always assigned such pertinent reasons, that Mr. Kicherer was convinced her understanding was much superior to what he had

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 19.

supposed. Her uneasiness of mind, on account of her sins, continued for more than a year; but having at length obtained comfort, she was baptized, and afterwards became one of the most active, industrious, and useful members of the congregation.*

About this time, several farmers having assembled at the house of the missionaries to partake of the Lord's Supper, a runaway slave made his appearance in the settlement. They soon discovered who he was, and thought of sending him back to his master, agreeably to an order of government. Having discovered their intention, the wretch determined to be revenged upon them, and, while they were at worship in the church, contrived to poison the well. Their lives would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to his villainy, had not a little girl providentially observed him commit the atrocious act. Having received timely notice of this circumstance, they examined the fellow, and found in his clothes the remainder of the poison, which was a species of moss, resembling human hair, and which has the singular property of contracting and convulsing the bowels. The culprit was sent to Capetown, and they united in returning thanks to God for this merciful deliverance.†

On another occasion, as Mr. Kicherer was, one evening, sitting near an open window, a party of Boschemen, who had concealed themselves in the neighbourhood, were just about to discharge a volley of poisoned arrows at him; but being detected by the same girl, who saved the life of Mr. Kramer from the dagger of Vigilant, they made off in haste, and thus he was again mercifully preserved.‡

We may also mention another remarkable deliverance which Mr. Kicherer experienced, from the hands of a person who came to their house, under the fictious name of Stephanos, a Greek by birth, and who, for making base coin

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 20. † Ibid.

‡ Ibid. vol ii. p. 21.

at Capetown, had been sentenced to death, but effected his escape from justice, a few days previous to that which was fixed for his execution. The rumour of this affair, indeed, had reached Mr. Kicherer, and when the fellow came to his house, in the absence of the other missionaries, who were gone six days journey with presents of tobacco, to invite more of the Boschemen to come and hear the gospel, he thought, that in his countenance he perceived tokens of guilt. But his conversation was so religious, and his professions, that he came to assist them in building a chapel, so plausible, that Mr. Kicherer blamed himself for harbouring any suspicion, and therefore permitted him to sleep in the room next his own. It would seem that the wretch had contrived a scheme to murder him, that he might seize on his waggon and goods, and then fly to a distant horde. In the night he actually approached his bed, but, at that moment, Mr. Kicherer happened to be awake, and cried out to him as if privy to his bloody design. The villain was disconcerted, stammered an apology of a pain in his bowels, and then went out of the house. In the morning, Mr. Kicherer found he had fled, and that he had not only stolen his gun, but taken with him many of the Boschemen, whom he seduced, by pretending that the White people were coming to be revenged upon them. a suspicion which is easily infused into the guilty conscience of these savages. The Hottentots having pursued them, overtook them in the desert, and a truce being concluded, Stephanos was compelled to restore the fowling piece, and dismiss the Boschemen. He was now left to pursue his journey alone; but, unfortunately, he was met by the missionaries Kramer and Scholtz, who obliged him to return with them to Zak River; a circumstance which involved their colleague Mr. Kicherer in fresh difficulties, and occasioned him much sorrow, as he was now certain that this was the identical malefactor who had broken from prison at the Cape. He begged his brethren, however, to keep the wretch concealed at a distance from their premises, with

the view of allowing him to make his escape; and in the night he met him, gave him his best advice, together with some provisions, and a Bible, and suffered him to go away to the Orange river, little thinking of the injury he would there do to the cause of religion.*

Several of the Corannas from the Orange river having arrived at the settlement about this time, repeated the invitation which they had before sent the missionaries, to remove to that part of the country, and to preach the word of life among them. Having agreed to this proposal, the whole congregation left Zak River, in May 1801, and about the close of the month they reached the Orange river, which in the dry season, is about half as wide, as the Thames at London bridge, but which was now so much swollen with the rains as to be impassible. While they waited for the fall of the waters, some of their friends on the opposite shore were bold enough to swim across, and assisted them in constructing rafts. By means of these, they were able in about a week to pass over the river, though not without great difficulty, for the one in which Mr. Kicherer was, sunk so deep, that he was up to the middle in water.†

Having settled near the Orange river, the missionaries soon found themselves surrounded by crowds of different people, Corannas, Namaquas, Hottentots, Bastard Hottentots and Boschemen, together with their numerous flocks and herds. The Corannas and Namaquas were servants to the Bastards, having been reduced to this abject condition by the depredations of a monster, known by the name of the African, a Bastard Hottentot. This bloody wretch, after murdering his master, collected together a band of robbers, with whom he made incursions into the Coranna and Namaqua country. Some of these poor timid people sent him a message, requesting him to restore a small part of their property, a cow for instance, to each family, that they might have a little milk for their starving children. The villain

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 22. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 23, 26.

promised to comply with their request, on condition that they would cross the river and take back the animals; but when they came, he treacherously seized them, tied them to the trees, cut out their tongues, or otherwise maimed them; nay he even shot some of them dead. Being thus reduced to extreme distress, they were glad for the sake of subsistence, to serve the Bastards, who treated them with great severity, flogging and abusing them like slaves, and allowing them little more for their support than the milk of the sheep which they kept. All these people expressed great joy at the arrival of the missionaries among them, particularly the poor oppressed Corannas and Namaquas, who looked up to them as a kind of friends and protectors.*

Besides cultivating the ground, the missionaries here built a long shed of timber, reeds, and clay, the roof of which reached the surface of the earth. The middle part of it was their church, and at each end was a room, one of which was occupied by Messrs. Anderson and Kramer, the other by Kicherer and Scholtz. This building was appropriated to the worship of the Hottentots; another of a similar construction was devoted to the instruction of the Corannas and Namaquas, whom they addressed by interpreters. Divine service was performed in both places at the same time, each of the missionaries officiating by rotation.†

Here the labours of the missionaries appeared to be attended with remarkable success. The people manifested an ardent desire to learn the things which belonged to their everlasting peace; many of them were brought under deep convictions of their sinfulness and misery; and though these did not always issue in sound conversion, yet there was reason to hope that this was the case in many happy instances.‡

We should already have mentioned the case of Cornelius Koopman, who joined the congregation on their way to the Orange river, and who had not been with them more than a single day, when he was impressed with convictions of his

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 27. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 28. ‡ Ibid.

sinfulness and misery. When Mr. Kicherer first saw him, there appeared so much pride in his carriage, that he entertained a very unfavourable opinion of him; but no sooner was his heart touched by divine grace, than the lion was changed into a lamb; the haughtiness of his deportment entirely forsook him; and he appeared to be clothed with humility as with a garment. He was remarkably cautious in what he said, but discovered, at the same time, that "faith which worketh by love," in the exercise of which he enjoyed close communion with God. Mr. Kicherer had many delightful conversations with him. "Ah!" he would say, "how happy would I think myself were I assured that Jesus is my Saviour; there would not be a more blessed creature on earth than myself. Here, I am so poor, that frequently I know not how to provide for my family; I would gladly clothe my children, were it only in sheep-skins, but alas! I have no supplies, for my little flock is all gone. Yet I had rather starve here, where Jesus Christ is preached, than return to serve those Christians who never told me a word of God, or Christ, or of the way of salvation." After he had surrendered himself to the Lord, his whole walk and conversation manifested the sincerity of his profession, and he was a pattern of godliness to all the congregation. Every day he would walk three, four, or five times, into the solitude of the wilderness, and there hold communion with God in prayer. Many a time Mr. Kicherer watched him at a distance, wrestling with God, and was made to blush by his importunity. It was also his custom, about sun-set, to take with him two of his children, whom he tenderly loved, to a solitary spot, that they might be present at his devotions. Here, indeed, we may make a general observation, that Mr. Kicherer, when sitting by himself on some eminence, had often the pleasure to observe some of his poor people, one here, behind a rock; another there, under a bush, earnestly engaged in secret prayer; a circumstance which did not fail to cheer and animate him under all his trials.*

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 24.

While he was in this part of the country, Mr. Kicherer was more than once in eminent danger of his life, from the wild beasts of the desert. One night before their house was built as he and Mr. Scholtz were sleeping with their Hottentots by the side of a little cart, he was so much disturbed by the barking of his spaniel dog, that he was perfectly vexed at him. The Hottentots, however, understanding the little creature's meaning better than he did, looked carefully around the place, and soon discovered a lion near them, who like a cat was creeping along the ground, in order to spring at them. They immediately snatched up their guns to fire at him; but the animal finding they were so well prepared, turned his tail and retreated with the utmost speed. As Kicherer and Scholtz lay nearest the spot from whence the lion approached, they were, of course, in the greatest danger, and felt peculiarly thankful to Providence for this new deliverance.*

On another occasion, when Mr. Kicherer was returning home, attended only by one Hottentot, he was once obliged to sleep in the open field. About midnight, their horses, which were fastened near them, began to be very unruly, and, by the noise, awakened both of them out of their sleep. The Hottentot was much alarmed, but seemed desirous of concealing from Mr. Kicherer the cause of the disturbance, with the view of keeping him easy. On being closely interrogated, however, he acknowledged that he saw a lion at the distance of twenty or thirty yards. Mr. Kicherer soon perceived a pair of eyes shining like two burning candles. Having struck a light, and set the grass in a blaze, they discovered a huge animal with his mane erect, just in the very act of springing upon them. At this critical moment, the Hottentot fired his piece, and the lion slunk away. This circumstance was the more extraordinary, as they were able next morning, to trace his bloody footsteps on the ground, a certain proof of his having been wounded, in which case, a

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 26.

lion seldom retreats till he has taken revenge on his assailants. On their return home, they learned from their friends, during their absence a lion had destroyed eighteen of their oxen.*

The missionaries now received the painful intelligence, that Stephanos, after leaving the settlement at Zak River, had gone to a horde of Bastard Hottentots, and having there set up for a missionary and a prophet, had established his power so firmly, that his will had all the authority of law among the poor ignorant people: the most attrocious crimes were committed by him with impunity, and whoever ventured to murmur against his abominable acts of rapine and lust, was sure to be put into the stocks, or beaten unmercifully. He had even erected a kind of temple, with an altar in the inside of it, on which his followers offered their sacrifices. He had a number of select disciples, who, like himself, feigned trances, in which they lay for many hours, and out of which they pretended to awake with messages from the angel Gabriel, or even from God himself. If the impostor wished to gratify his lust, his covetousness, or his revenge, a relation from heaven authorized him to effect his purpose. If any dissatisfaction or lukewarmness arose among his followers, he immediately threatened them with the judgments of God, or even with the conflagration of the whole world.†

After mature deliberation, Mr. Kicherer resolved to go and endeavour to stop these diabolical proceedings; but as this measure was likely to be attended with danger, he took all the armed men of the congregation with him. Being apprized of his design, Stephanos called a meeting of his followers, and told them, that this was the important moment, in which they were called upon to demonstrate their attachment to God and his prophet; and that if they proved unfaithful, fire would come down from heaven and destroy them.‡

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 29. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 30. ‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 30.

When Mr. Kicherer approached the horde, Stephanos stepped forward and offered him his hand. This he refused, but desired him to walk with him under a tree, where they might converse together. Mr. Kicherer's people accompanied him to the spot, and Stephanos was attended by his followers. With the Bible in his hand, our missionary disputed with him four hours successively, and was enabled clearly to refute his arguments. The impostor insisted chiefly on the prophecy of Joel, concerning the dreams and visions of the latter days: he also iutroduced many passages from the book of Revelation.*

Stephanos and his deluded followers, as may easily be supposed, remained unconvinced; or at least they would not acknowledge their error. The impostor himself presented a striking emblem of the Prince of Darkness. His eyes rolled and flashed with rage; his tongue moved with incessant volubility; and he strove to vindicate all his attrocities, by examples derived from the Holy Scriptures.†

Mr. Kicherer now thought himself fully justified in ordering his people to seize him, as a malefactor already under the sentence of the law, with the view of conveying him to the Cape to suffer the punishment due to his crimes. The order was instantly obeyed, and the impostor was made a prisoner in his own temple. In a moment his crest fell, and he requested our missionary in the French language, which the people did not understand, to set him at liberty, promising, in that case, to leave the country. To this Mr. Kicherer replied, that if he was convinced that he felt due repentance for his crimes, and proved it by a frank confession of his guilt, he might perhaps let him go. Immediately the wretch spoke to the people, in a pitiful tone of voice acknowledging that he had imposed upon them; that if they went on in the ways he had taught them, they would certainly go to hell: and that they ought to thank God, who had sent them teachers of the truth.‡

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 31. † Ibid, vol. ii. p. 31. ‡ Ibid.

This confession had a wonderful effect upon the multitude, who crowded around our missionary, and thanked him heartily for what he had done, expressing boundless joy at their deliverance from the yoke of this tyrannical impostor. They wished to send him away naked into the desert; but Mr. Kicherer interfered, and procured for him a supply of provisions, and a guide into the Namaqua country, towards the sea-coast, where he hoped the wretch might meet with an European vessel, and finally leave the country. In this, however, he was mistaken. Mr. Engelbrecht, a farmer and an officer of the militia, having recognized him on his journey, attempted, in the execution of his duty, to arrest him, but unfortunately fell in the scuffle. Stephanos, seizing the opportunity, cut his throat with a razor, after which he made his escape, and joined the noted robber the African.*

Having continued at the Orange river, about ten months, and finding that the produce of the land was not sufficient for the support of their numerous cattle, the missionaries agreed to divide the congregation, and to separate. In March 1802, Messrs. Kicherer and Scholtz began to remove to Zak River with part of the people, while Messrs. Anderson and Kramer remained with the rest in that quarter of the country. The river then being low, they embraced this opportunity of crossing it; but as they could not, at that time, pass the desert, they erected sheds of branches, as a temporary residence, till they should be able to pursue their journey. Some Boschemen belonging to the country about Zak River, having given them information that considerable rain had fallen in the wilderness, a circumstance which alone could enable them to pass it, they broke up their encampment and commenced their journey. They had not, however, proceeded far, when they were convinced that the savages had deceived them. They travelled till the third day, without finding a drop of water. The cattle then began to

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 31

be in the utmost distress; their looks indicated extreme anguish, and their piteous lowing seemed to forbode the destruction of the whole party in the wilderness. Our travellers at length found a small pool of water, just sufficient to assuage their own thirst, but not that of their cattle. A girl was just going to drink, when, to their great mortification, they perceived that it had been poisoned by the Boschemen, a circumstance which could not fail to aggravate their distress. Mr. Kicherer now deliberated in his own mind, whether he should not call the people together for a prayer meeting, to implore of God a supply of rain; but, on weighing the matter fully, he resolved to unite privately with Mr. Scholtz in supplicating help in this time of need. Nor were their prayers in vain. He who had already, in many instances, heard the voice of their petitions, again listened to their cry, and in the course of a few hours, granted them such plentiful showers as put a period to their distress.*

Having stopped two days at this place to recruit their cattle, they prepared for their departure; but that very morning, one of their cows came home with an arrow sticking in her flank, a sign that the Boschemen had driven away part of their herd. In these cases, the savages oblige the animals to run as fast as they can; and when any of them are unable to keep up with the rest, they pierce it with a dart, in consequence of which it falls down on the road, and the carcase is afterwards carried away by the robbers. The cow which now returned had been treated in this manner, and served as a messenger to apprise our travellers of what had happened. Mr. Kicherer despatched some Hottentots with fire-arms, to pursue the banditti; and in the meanwhile travelled on with the remainder of the people. The pursuers fell in with the robbers, at the distance of a day's journey beyond the hills, and having recovered the property, returned to their friends

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 33.

with seventy-three out of eighty oxen which they had stolen.*

Leaving the congregation under the care of his assistant Scholtz, Mr. Kicherer hastened forward to the residence of the nearest farmers, partly that he might gratify his extreme longing for a morsel of bread, as he had not tasted any for six months together. He proceeded forward with all possible despatch, in company with three of the most serious of his people, whose conversation on the road was singularly pleasant and spiritual, which rendered these hours some of the happiest he ever spent. Having at length come within sight of the first farmer's house, his joy on approaching it was inexpressible. His first request was for a piece of bread, which he immediately devoured with the keenest appetite, and with a relish which it is not easy for a person to conceive, who never experienced the want of it for so long a period. Shortly after, he arrived at Zak River, and rejoiced exceedingly when he again beheld the favoured spot, where he had witnessed so many instances of the power and grace of the Redeemer.†

Having about this time a convenient opportunity of visiting the Cape, Mr. Kicherer gladly embraced it, as he had conceived a plan of forming a regular congregation of Hottentots, for which purpose he stood in need of a variety of articles, particularly of a good stock of clothes. On his arrival at Capetown, he received 100*l.* from general Dundas, the governor, as a reward for his services in the colony; and he immediately laid it out in the purchase of such articles as were necessary in the settlement. He also received a new offer of the church at Rodezand, but he again declined it, for the sake of his poor people at Zak River.†

Having despatched his business at the Cape, he hastened back to his station in the wilderness; and on his arrival, informed his people that he had again refused the living at

* Miss. Trans vol. ii. p. 35. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 35.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 36.

Rodezand, and assured them that he would never forsake them, provided they would discover a spirit of industry, and be more diligent than they had formerly been in cultivating the ground, and learning other useful employments; but he added, that if they should grieve him as they had done hitherto by their idleness, they might depend upon it, he would leave them, and accept of the church at Rodezand. The poor people, in reply, promised every thing he could desire, and assured him, that in future he should have no cause to complain of them. Mr. Kicherer, therefore, began immediately to erect a more commodious building for a church; and the Hottentots at first assisted in forwarding the work, but their natural indolence prevailing, they soon became weary of the labour. He then repeated his former declaration; and added, that he would certainly leave them in eight days, unless there was an increase of their diligence. A scene ensued which Mr. Kicherer could not afterwards recollect without much emotion. They began to weep, and entreated him so importunately, that his heart melted within him. He then gave them his word that he would not desert them, a circumstance which instantly changed their sorrow into joy. Many of them clasped their arms around his neck; and he was convinced that they loved him far more tenderly than he had imagined.*

Besides the church, which was capable of containing eight hundred people, the missionaries erected, in this place, a good dwelling-house, consisting of several rooms on one floor, the whole of which was built of stone. Before it, the baptized Hottentots built themselves decent habitations in the style of the farmers; and at the back of it, the Heathen lived in small huts. Near the church; the missionaries had an excellent garden for raising vegetables; they had also a cattle-yard, surrounded with a high wall, behind the houses of the Christian Hottentots; and on the north side of the river, which was about three quarters of a mile distant, were

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 36.

their corn fields. The whole number of inhabitants amounted to about six hundred, of whom eighty-three were baptized, including men, women, and children.*

In January 1803, Mr. Kicherer took leave of his beloved congregation at Zak River, with the view of making a visit to Europe, partly for the restoration of his health, which was now considerably impaired, and partly to settle some important domestic concerns. His parting with them was very affecting. The poor people wept bitterly, and expressed their apprehension that it was on account of their guilt, and because they had not sufficiently prized his labours, that they were now to be deprived of them. Laying hold on his hands, they declared they could not let him go: They said they would pray to God to bring him back soon; they thought they would die if he did not return.†

In his voyage to Europe, Mr. Kicherer was accompanied by three of the converted Hottentots, a man named John, and two women called Mary and Martha. After arriving in Holland, they all came over to England, where the Hottentots were not only introduced to many distinguished characters, who were pleased to express the highest satisfaction with the progress they appeared to have made in civilization, but they were examined concerning their views of religion, in the presence of numerous congregations, and afforded serious people, of all denominations, the greatest delight, by the simplicity and propriety of their answers.‡ On one of these occasions, Mary is said to have addressed the audience in the following animated and affectionate manner; "What pity it is, what sin it is, that you have so many years got that heavenly bread, and hold it for yourselves, not to give one little bit, one crumb to poor Heathen! There are so many millions of Heathen, and you have so much bread; and you might depend upon it, you should not have less because you give; but the Lord Jesus would give his blessing,

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 37, 46. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 47.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. Pref. p. 5. Evan. Mag. vol. xi. p. 545, 591; vol. xii. p. 92.

and you should have the more. You must not think when you do something for the poor Heathen, you shall have less for yourselves: on the contrary, the Lord Jesus is a fountain always full; thousands after thousands might be helped by him; he is always the same, yesterday, to-day and forever. The more you do for others, the more you shall be blessed,—the more you shall have for your own souls. I thank every person who does something for missionary work, or who prays for it; and I hope every one will go on to spread the gospel. As the Lord Jesus was so good as to wear a crown of prickles for us, for our sins, let us work more and more in the dust at his feet, to put on his head a crown of glory. O when you know in what a situation the Hottentots are, then you will have more compassion for them; and when you see that God gives us such plenty here, that you might give to other poor creatures,—help and assist them. I am going to a far land, and I suppose I will never see this people again in this world; so, people of God, farewell. I shall meet you again before the throne of glory; and those who know not God, I admonish them to come to Jesus; then we shall all meet at the right hand of God. The last thing I would say, O pray for the poor Heathen!"*

After this agreeable visit to England, Mr. Kicherer and the three Hottentots returned to Holland, where they were unavoidably detained for several months, as they could procure no suitable conveyance to the Cape. At length, after a long trial of their patience, they sailed from the Texel in October 1804, together with Mr. and Mrs. Vos, and several other missionaries, who were destined for South Africa. Only four days, however, after their departure, there arose a most dreadful storm. About midnight, Mr. Kicherer, whose room was near the cabin, perceived a great confusion among the sailors, in consequence of their having discovered a light. It was now supposed that they were between the Scilly Islands and the Lizard Point, so that they expected

* Evan. Mag. vol. xii. p. 94.

every moment to be wrecked among the rocks. The vessel now rose up to heaven, and then sunk into the abyss; the waves dashed over the deck, and even broke into the rooms. It was a most dreadful scene. The darkness of the night, the roaring of the sea, and the howling of the storm, all contributed to render it alarming beyond description. The ship resembled a house that was plundered. All the articles that were moveable were turned upside down, and many of them were broken to pieces. After repeatedly uniting in prayer, they all agreed to sit down on the floor, that they might die in each others arms. Besides the missionaries, there was a gentleman, together with his lady, a child, and a maid-servant on board; and it was a most moving spectacle to behold the terrified mothers carrying their children to the place. Now they looked at their children, then at their husbands; now at their friends again, then towards heaven, praying for deliverance. Mr. Kicherer had the child of Mrs. Vos in his hands. Mary, the Hottentot, sat next to him, and was very composed. The surgeon came down to enquire the hour; it was then half past one. Each blow of the waves was violent beyond conception, and was expected to be the last. Every moment the vessel seemed as if it were shattering into a thousand pieces. They were now like persons sitting under sentence of death, and expected every moment the execution of it. The captain, almost every quarter of an hour, was sending down to inquire what o'clock it was, so ardently did he long for the break of day. The surgeon came down about half past four and said that all the three masts would be cut down as soon as it was light, if they were still safe. About six in the morning, the wind shifted, and became more moderate, and they began to entertain some hope of deliverance. The storm, however, lasted for three days longer; but they were all preserved in safety, and at length, after a voyage of three months, they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in January 1805.*

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 176, 218, 231.

After remaining some time at Capetown, Mr. Kicherer set out for Zak River, the scene of his former labours; and on the way, he was met by Mr. Botman, a pious man, to whose care he had committed the congregation during his visit to Europe. From him he received the painful intelligence, that many of the people had been obliged to leave the settlement on account of the excessive drought which had now prevailed for about three years, and which rendered it impracticable for them to procure sustenance for themselves and their cattle.*

After Mr. Kicherer's arrival at Zak River, the congregation continued to suffer much distress from the continuance of the drought, the unproductive nature of the soil, and the frequent plunderings of the Boschemen. Many of them had already been obliged to take refuge in a different part of the country, and the rest seemed ready to perish for want of the necessaries of life. Mr. Kicherer and his assistant, Mr. Vos, used their utmost endeavours to keep the congregation at this place, but all their efforts were in vain. Their prospects became every day darker and darker. Neither cattle nor corn was to be purchased at any price, partly on account of the scarcity which prevailed throughout the whole country, and partly because they were afraid to send for the articles they needed, for fear of being plundered by the Boschemen, who had already murdered two of the baptized Hottentots.†

Such was the melancholy situation of the congregation at Zak River, when Mr. Kicherer received an invitation from governor Jansens to come to Capetown, and undertake the pastoral charge of one of the vacant churches in its vicinity. He accordingly acceded to the proposal; but on his arrival at that place, he found it in the possession of the British. Sir David Baird, however, the commander-in-chief, having approved of the measure, appointed him to the charge of Graaf Reinet, the church which was nearest to the settlement

* Evan. Mag. vol. xiv. p. 565. † Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 159.

of Zak River; and Mr. Kicherer accepted of it, on condition that he should retain his connection with the Missionary Society, and continue the superintendent of the mission.*

As this, however, did not diminish the difficulties of the congregation at Zak River, the remains of them resolved to follow their beloved teachers to Graaf Reinet, for a season, as this seemed to afford them the only prospect of deliverance. In August 1806, they accordingly left that place under the care of Mr. Vos; and on their arrival at Graaf Reinet, the greater part of them were placed as servants or labourers in the families in the neighbourhood, or they lived in the village itself, by which means they not only improved in industry, but still enjoyed the means of religious instruction. Here Mr. Kicherer preaches the gospel not only to the Dutch settlers in the town, and in an extensive district of country, but also to many of the Hottentots; and, it is said, his labours have been attended with great success.†

ARTICLE III.

Orange River.

IN March 1801, Mr. William Anderson, who had lately arrived at Zak River, set off for the Orange River, with the view of making known the gospel in that part of the country. He was accompanied by a number of Bastard Hottentots, and, as we have already mentioned, he was followed by the other missionaries and the whole congregation a few

* Evan. Mag. vol. xiv. p. 330.

† Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 159, 412. Report of the Miss. Soc. 1808, p. 18. Ibid. 1809, p. 13. Evan. Mag. vol. xix. p. 314.

weeks after.* The journey was not without danger, on account of the ravages of the wandering Boschemen, who still infested the country. One evening, indeed, Mr. Anderson and his party were surrounded by a number of these savages, armed with bows and arrows, who followed them a considerable way, and remained in the same place with them at night; but, next morning, they departed without doing them any mischief. Our travellers had shot two wild horses the day before, and, by this means, were able to supply the poor creatures with victuals, a circumstance which probably conciliated their friendship. After their arrival at the Orange River, they were frequently visited by others of that wandering tribe; and, one evening, a little Boschemen told them, that he overheard his countrymen deliberating about attacking them the same night, while they were asleep; and in fact, the bold audacious behaviour of the savages gave some countenance to the report. Mr. Anderson and his companions therefore slept out of doors that night, with their guns loaded; and in the morning the Boschemen altered their conduct materially, and after obtaining three sheep, they went away in the course of the day.†

Having fixed on the Riet Fountain for a settlement, Mr. Anderson and his fellow missionaries soon found themselves surrounded by crowds of different people, Corannas, Namaquas, Hottentots, Bastard Hottentots, and Boschemen, together with their numerous herds and flocks. Here they began their labours with their usual zeal, and with the most pleasing prospect of success. A great desire prevailed among the people to learn the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. Numbers of them used to hear the word with tears in their eyes, and they were even so impressed with convictions of their sinfulness and misery, that, at times, it was impossible to proceed with divine worship.

† Miss. Trans, vol. i. p. 345.

* See page 408.

Many of them also manifested a strong desire to learn to read, and, in a short time, some of them made considerable progress. Their external behaviour was, in general, as good as could be expected; and as yet none of them manifested the smallest opposition to the gospel.*

As the people, however, depended entirely on their cattle for subsistence, and as they were obliged to remove with them from spring to spring, at different periods of the year, in order to obtain pasture for them, this circumstance was not only attended with many inconveniences, but materially impeded their moral and religious improvement. In July 1803, Messrs. Anderson and Kramer resolved to endeavour to fix them in some suitable situation; and as a favourable opportunity presented itself soon after, they made known their design to them, and intimated, at the same time, that if any did not approve of the place, they were at liberty to go elsewhere. Contrary to their expectation, all the people consented to the proposal; and, accordingly, Mr. Anderson proceeded to fix them at their different stations, and to dispose of their sheep and cattle at suitable places, so as, in some measure, to meet their approbation. He also began to form them into some kind of order, and to introduce agriculture among them; an attempt in which he succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations, though it was attended with many difficulties and discouragements, in consequence of the indolence and inactivity of the people, as well as from the want of rain in the country.†

In April 1805, the whole number of people under the care of the missionaries, amounted to seven hundred and eighty-four, including men, women, and children. Of these, about eighty were able to read, namely, thirty adults, and fifty children; and there were upwards of thirty of them, who, for three years past, had maintained a conversation becoming the gospel. A number of them were soon after baptiz-

* Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 347; vol. ii. p. 27.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 347; vol. iii. p. 11. 15.

ed, and thus formed the beginning of a Christian church in this desert land. At a place about twenty-four miles distant from Klaar Water, the principal seat of the mission, there was also a school, which was attended by about forty children, and was taught by one of their own people.*

About this time they were visited with the small-pox, which made terrible havock among them; for sometime there was a burial every day. There now appeared a gloom in every countenance; they began to dread the approach of death, and attended more diligently on the worship of God than they had of late done. Afterwards, however, when the disorder disappeared, and the danger seemed to be over, they became as careless as before, and neglected the means of religious instruction.† In August 1807, the small-pox again broke out among them; and of those who were attacked by it, nearly as many died as what recovered. The cow-pox, indeed, was now introduced among them; and it tended greatly to promote the practice of vaccination, that several who had been inoculated slept with those who had the small-pox, and yet not one of them caught the disorder; a fact which furnishes a further confirmation, in addition to innumerable other incontestible proofs, of the complete efficacy of vaccination, in different climates, and under the greatest variety of circumstances.‡

Besides their stated congregations, the missionaries were surrounded by numerous hordes of Corannas and Boschemen, who occasionally received instruction from them. They were exposed, however, to various alarms and dangers, particularly from the quarrels and wars of the rebel Caffres with the Briquas and other tribes, and though their conduct had impressed the savages with a considerable degree of reverence and respect for them, yet they were often harassed with reports of their designing to attack the settlement. On this account, Mr. Anderson was obliged, in March 1809, to pro-

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 11, 13. 216, 253. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 16.
‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 216. Evan. Mag. vol. xvi. p. 444.

ceed to Capetown, a journey of thirty-one days, with the view of soliciting the advice and protection of the British government; and, in the meanwhile, he left the congregation under the care of Mr. Janz, who had, for a considerable time past, been associated with him in the mission. His departure was marked by expressions of the utmost affection on the part of the people, who considered the plundering and destruction of their habitations, and even their own personal danger, as evils far inferior to the loss of their beloved teachers.*

ARTICLE IV.

Namaqua Land.

IN October 1804, Mr. Christian Albrecht and Mr. Abraham Albrecht, two brothers, together with Mr. John Sydenfaden from the Netherland Missionary Society, sailed from Holland for South Africa, in the same vessel as Mr. Kicherer and the three Hottentots. Having arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, they remained there a considerable time, but at length they set off for Namaqua Land, the scene of their future labours, and after a very tedious and difficult journey, in the course of which they suffered not a little from the want of provisions, they reached that dreary country. Here they met with a very favourable reception from the inhabitants, and in a short time they had a very considerable number of them under their care. It now became necessary to build a place of worship, as it was dangerous to meet in the open air, on account of the many venomous creatures which

* Report of the Miss. Soc. 1810, p. 8.

abound in that part of the country. One evening, as Christian Albrecht was preaching, a serpent twined itself round his leg, but providentially it left him without doing him any injury.*

The country, they were apprehensive, was too dry and barren to produce corn, so that they expected to be obliged to live entirely without bread; but they were in hopes, that, from their vicinity to several fountains, they would be so far preserved from the effects of excessive drought, as to be able to maintain their cattle, which would be their principal mean of subsistence. It was not long, however, before they removed further into the interior, to a place near the Warm Bath; but even there they found that they could not conveniently accommodate all their congregation, who lived chiefly by their cattle, and therefore it was agreed that one of them should accompany such of the people as might, from time to time, find it necessary to remove to other places for pasturage. Mr. Christian Albrecht accordingly undertook this laborious task. In one of his excursions among the neighbouring savages, he found the country such a frightful wilderness, so rocky, and so mountainous, that is was not possible to travel with a waggon, and even scarcely on horseback. He was obliged to seek the poor miserable creatures in the most dismal holes and dens, and even when he approached they fled from him, so that he was under the necessity of sending a messenger before him to tranquillize their minds. They hid themselves for fear of their neighbours who were at war with them; but on learning his design in visiting them, they received him with cordiality, and heard his instructions with pleasure.†

In October 1808, the congregation had increased to seven hundred, and some months after, it is stated, that the number of names which had been inserted in the church books, amounted to about twelve hundred, including men, women,

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 176; vol. iii. p. 23, 25.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 33, 163, 243, 246.

and children. Of these, about three hundred resided at the Warm Bath; the rest lived at the distance of from half a day to three days journey. There were generally about two hundred present at public worship on the Lord's day; many of them appeared to be under serious impressions of religion; a number of them, it was hoped, were truly converted to the Saviour; some of these were already baptized and admitted to the Lord's Supper; and there were about twenty who could read tolerably well. The missionaries had made some attempts to raise cotton, and had succeeded very well, a circumstance which promised to be of great advantage to the settlement. In a political point of view, the situation of the Namaquas was materially improved by means of their labours. All those who were under their care agreed in saying, "We are now in a far happier condition than we were before the arrival of our teachers; till then there was nothing but fighting, and bloodshed, and murder." One of them expressed himself in the following manner, "At my time of life, I often wonder I have not been killed; but since our teachers came hither, I can sleep in safety, for now there is peace amongst us.*

In July 1810, Mr. Abraham Albrecht, who had been ill of a consumption for a considerable time past, died on his way to Capetown, after suffering many hardships by the way. His widow, however, returned to Namaqua Land, to resume the station she had so usefully occupied, in teaching the women and girls to knit, &c. But it was not long before the whole of the neighbouring country was involved in confusion and distress, in consequence of the depredations of the robber known by the name of the African. Mr. Christian Albrecht applied for protection and assistance to the constituted authorities in that part of the country; and as they were not able to afford him the aid which was necessary, he was obliged to go to Capetown, in order to obtain a

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 244, 311, 313. Report of the Missionary Society, 1811, p. 13.

supply of arms and ammunition for his people, that they might defend themselves, in case they should be attacked by this monster and his murderous band. His excellency the governor readily complied with his request, and had the goodness to direct that twenty fire-locks, two hundred pounds of gunpowder, and four hundred pounds of lead, should be delivered to him. Having received these, Mr. Albrecht set off on his return to Namaqua Land, together with four other missionaries, who had lately arrived from Europe.* In travelling through the wilderness, their dangers and sufferings were truly affecting. Sometimes they were without water for themselves and their cattle; their oxen weakened by want of sustenance, refused to draw their waggons; many of them died of thirst, and some of their sheep were destroyed by the wild beasts. They themselves were without bread for nearly a month, and were in danger of perishing in the desert, had not a man named Cornelius Kok, who was informed of their distress, at length sent men and oxen to their relief. By the way, they met with a considerable number of the congregation who had been driven from the Warm Bath, and from them they learned that the African still robbed and persecuted the inhabitants of that part of the country.†

Mr. Sydenfaden was at first associated with the two Albrechts, in the mission to Great Namaqua Land and superintended a branch of it about one day's journey from the Warm Bath; but, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring subsistence for himself and his congregation, he obtained permission from government, to settle with them on the Camies Mountain, in Little Namaqua Land. The number of people under his care amounted to between four and five hundred, among whom there were some who appeared to have received the truth in the love of it. Upwards of thirty

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 418, 424, 427, 432, 443.

† Report of the Miss. Soc. 1813, p. 4, 31.

of them were able to read; and others were anxious to attain this important branch of knowledge. A young man of good dispositions and abilities was appointed schoolmaster; and two others, each of them about forty years of age, were chosen to be clerks, for the purpose of reading the Holy Scriptures morning and evening, and praying with the people when the missionary was absent. It appears, however, that about the beginning of 1811, some of the African's gang paid a visit to this part of the country; and after shooting one of the Hottentots, forced open the house of Mr. Sydenfaden, who was then absent, and plundered and destroyed whatever they could find in it.*

SECTION III.

East Indies.

Article I. Vizagapatnam.

IN February 1804, Messrs. William T. Ringeltaube, George Cran, and Augustus Des Granges, sailed from England for the East Indies, with the view of establishing a mission on the coast of Coromandel. On their arrival, however, some difference of opinion arose among them with regard to the place where they should settle. Ringeltaube preferring the south of India, while Cran and Des Granges proceeded to the Northern Circars, and fixed their residence at Vizagapatnam, a town containing about twenty thousand inhabitants, with many large villages in the neighbourhood.†

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 165, 309, 427.

† Evan. Mag. vol. xii. p. 140. Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 208, 261, 397, 403.

Besides applying to the study of the Telinga language, which is understood over a very extensive tract of country, the missionaries, soon after their arrival, began to preach to their countrymen, and to the descendants of Europeans who resided in the town. In this they were encouraged by many of the gentlemen in the settlement; and, in consequence of an application from the judge, the governor in council was pleased to allow them ten pagodas a month, for performing divine service in the fort. They also began to distribute rice among the poor once a week; and it was not long before there were a hundred and fifty of these miserable objects, who regularly received an allowance from them. In this measure, they were kindly assisted by the ladies and gentlemen in the town, who resolved to advance certain sums monthly for this purpose, and to place them under their management and care.*

Impressed with the importance of the education of the youth, the missionaries drew up an address and a plan for a charity-school, which they presented to the gentlemen and ladies in the town, who most readily adopted the proposal, and contributed nearly thirteen hundred rupees for the building, besides some monthly subscriptions for the support of the scholars. Soon after the school was opened, it was attended by between thirty and forty children. Among them there were some of all the different casts, from the Brahmin to the Sooder; and several of them came from the distance of ten, twenty, and even thirty miles, on purpose to attend it. The principal object for which the Hindoo youth came to the school was to learn the English language; and though they were professed Pagans, yet they willingly listened to the truths of Christianity, and even requested permission to form a class for reading the Old and New Testament. They were taught by a native schoolmaster, who was born of Christian parents, and whom the missionaries brought with them from Madras.†

* M'ss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 443, 447.

† Report of the Miss. Soc. 1807. p. 21. Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 131.

The missionaries were, at the same time, careful to embrace every opportunity of conversing with the natives on the subject of religion. They were daily visited by Hindoos of different casts, and even by many of the Brahmins. Some professed to approve of their doctrine, acknowledging that it was better than their own. Others affirmed, that it was all one; he who adhered strictly to the religion of his own country, would be accepted of God. "Heaven!" said a Brahmin, with more elegance than truth, "Heaven is like a palace that has many gates, at which people may enter. Variety is pleasing to God; with a number of other similar arguments.*

In May 1808, the missionaries obtained an assistant of great importance to them, in the person of Anundarayer, a Christian Brahmin, of about thirty years of age. He was formerly an accountant in a regiment of Tippo Saib's; and after the death of that prince, he held a similar appointment under an English officer. Being anxiously concerned about the salvation of his soul, he was advised by an aged Brahmin to repeat a certain prayer four hundred thousand times. This he did in a pagoda, with many fatigueing ceremonies, and he even exceeded the number prescribed. Finding no satisfaction in these exercises, he resolved to return to his family, and to live as before. On his way home, he met with a Roman Catholic Christian, who conversed with him on religious subjects, and gave him two books in the Telinga language, concerning the Christian faith. Having read these with much attention, he was struck with what they contained, and resolved to make more particular inquiry concerning the nature of the gospel. His friends were much alarmed at the new views he had embraced, and offered him a sum of money, and the sole management of the family estate, if he would not disgrace them by becoming a Christian. But Anundarayer declared, that he valued the salvation of his soul more than all the goods of this world; and having

* Report of the Miss. Soc. 1807, p. 22. Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 442.

applied to a Roman Catholic priest, he was further instructed, and baptized by him. Hearing afterwards, however, that at Tranquebar there was another large Christian congregation, schools for children, and the Bible in the Tamul language, as well as many other books, and no images in their church, which he had always much disliked, and even disputed with the Roman Catholic priests. Pleased with this information, he came thither; and though Dr. John, the Danish missionary, viewed him at first with extreme suspicion, yet, after some conversation, he formed a better opinion of him, and at length admitted him as a member of the congregation. Our young convert manifested an ardent thirst for Christian knowledge, and an anxious wish to be useful in promoting the best interests of his countrymen. As soon as he heard of the mission at Vizagapatnam, he expressed a great desire to go thither, in order to be employed either in the church or in the school; for as the Tamul was not his mother tongue, he could not be of so much use at Tranquebar, but he wrote the Telinga elegantly, and also the Mahratta. Dr. John having strongly recommended him to the missionaries at Vizagapatnam, they gladly accepted the offer of the services of one who promised to be of so much assistance to them.*

Having now made considerable progress in the Telinga language, the missionaries had begun to preach in it to the natives; but scarcely had Mr. Cran entered on this important part of the work of a missionary, when a period was unexpectedly put to all his labours. Of late, he had been brought very low by a billious fever; but having, in some degree, recovered from it, he, by the advice of his physician, undertook a tour to the north. For some time he appeared to gain strength; but he again grew worse at Chicacole, a town about seventy-four miles from Vizagapatnam. In the course of his journey, he was in a pleasing state of mind, and eagerly embraced every opportunity of making known among

* Report of the Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 79.

the Hindoos, "the unsearchable riches of Christ." His complaints, however, in the meanwhile, made rapid progress, and at length put a period to his valuable life, January 6, 1809.*

The place of Mr. Cran was, after some time, supplied by the arrival of Messrs. William Gordon and Richard Lee, two missionaries, who left England about three years before, by the way of America, and had been detained in that country in consequence of the unhappy differences between the United States and Great Britain. They had not, been long in India, when Mr. Des Granges, to whose assistance they came, was attacked by a billious disorder, and followed his late colleague to the grave. During his illness, his mind was calm and serene; but he spoke little, owing to his extreme weakness, and the pain which he suffered. Poor Anundarayer was much affected, and begged to know, whether the new missionaries would take the same care of him as Mr. Des Granges had done. Being assured of this, he burst into tears; and pressing the hands of his dying father, as he called him, to his lips, he asked him, if his mind was fixed on Christ? To which Mr. Des Granges replied in the affirmative. Many others of the natives surrounded his bed and wept. They were all constrained to say, "He was a good man." Mrs. Des Granges, and likewise, Mr. Gordon, were lying ill at the same time, in different apartments; and the physicians desired her to be removed to a separate house. A few hours before he expired, she was carried through his chamber, where, being desirous of seeing each other once more, they took a last farewell. His children also were, at his own request, brought to his bed-side. The scene was affecting beyond description. At length, after an illness of only eight days, he breathed his last, July 12, 1810, in the thirtieth year of his age.†

Previous to his death, Mr. Des Granges had laboured with great assiduity in translating the New Testament into

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 266 † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 358.

the Telinga language. On this work he appears to have bestowed much pains; and, in the prosecution of it, he derived very material assistance from Anundarayer, the Christian Brahmin. It would seem, indeed, that two different versions were formed by them; one by Anundarayer, who translated from the Tamul, the other by Mr. Des Granges; but he, at the same time, had recourse to the version of Anundarayer, whenever any difficulty occurred; and he derived great assistance from it, as well as from consulting himself on all occasions. Before the commencement of his last illness, he had prepared for the press, the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke. He had also translated the Gospel according to John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the first Epistle to the Corinthians; but of these he had written only the first copy, which would, of course, require repeated revisals.* The three Gospels have since been printed, by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, who were employed for that purpose; and, we trust, are already in circulation through that extensive quarter of the country, where the Telinga language is understood.† Mr. Gordon is now proceeding with the translation of the New Testament, while Mr. Lee has begun a version of the Old.‡

ARTICLE II.

TRAVANCORE.

IN the year 1804, the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube arrived in India along with Messrs. Cran and Des Granges; but as the mission was originally destined for the Coromandel coast,

* Report of the Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 17, 116.
† Report of the Miss. Soc. 1813, p. 9. ‡ Evan. Mag. vol. xx. p. 364.

and as he did not approve of the station which they had chosen, he resolved, that, while they proceeded to the Northern Circars, he would direct his labours to the southern part of the peninsula. For some time, however, he was undecided with regard to the particular place where he should settle; but having received the most melancholy accounts of the deplorable condition of the Christians in the Tinevelly country, he, at length, resolved to fix his residence in that district. Here there were about five thousand Christian converts, under the care of thirty catechists and schoolmasters, who were connected with the Danish mission; and it was said, that of late they had suffered the most grevious persecution from their Pagan countrymen, on account of their profession of Christianity, and that this might easily have been prevented, had a European missionary been resident among them.*

In February 1806, Mr. Ringeltaube proceeded to the Tinevelly district, and on his arrival, he found the Christians, as they were called, very numerous, but scattered up and down the country in the different villages. In many of these, they had churches, several of which were large and handsome; but most of them were small, and some only Palmyra sheds. The reports of the grevious persecutions which they had suffered, appeared to have been greatly exaggerated, if not wholly unfounded, though Mr. Ringeltaube appears to have had them from a respectable quarter. The true cause of all their troubles was not their profession of Christianity, but their refusal to bear the share of the public burdens; and when those in power proceeded to punish them for their disobedience, they raised a mighty outcry of persecution, while, in fact, it was nothing more than what their conduct justly merited. In general indeed, they were extremely ignorant, and could be considered as Christians only in name. In one place, none of the congregation could answer the simple question, "What must you do to be saved?" In

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 431, 435; vol. iii. p. 119, 141.

another town, about three hundred people desired Mr. Ringeltaube to baptize them, but when asked the reason, they could not tell. "For the good of my soul," the best instructed of them replied; but here their knowledge ended. Among those who applied for baptism, one assigned the following as the reason of his desire: "My two brothers, coming down from a Palmyra tree, received a mortal blow from the devil in their chests. I want to be baptized, in order to avoid a similar fate." On another occasion, a person gave the following answer: "Formerly, I paid ten panchukeram to government; this year, the collector demands twelve; therefore I desire to become a Christian." Mr. Ringeltaube informs us, that there is a district in that country inhabited chiefly by Mahommedans, who had embraced the faith of the Arabian impostor, in order to escape a small tax of about eighteen pence a year, which the Sanaers are obliged to pay, while the Moslems are exempted from it. Thus, for the sake of that trifling sum, these people had agreed to change their religion!*

As Mr. Ringeltaube was still imperfectly acquainted with the language, he was not able to examine the qualifications of the candidates for baptism, and therefore he devolved this important office on two of the catechists, who, accordingly, baptized between two and three hundred of them. It certainly seems a little strange, that he should have adopted so loose a system with regard to a people, who, by his own account, were so grossly ignorant of the principles of Christianity, and so destitute of every symptom of true religion. He appears, indeed, to have reckoned it enough if the candidates for baptism were able to repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the words concerning the institution of the two Sacraments! At this rate, the whole world might become Christians, and yet been as well had they remained Pagans or Mahommedans.†

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 98, 101, 103, 119, 133, 373.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 117, 118, 140.

Through the friendly interposition of colonel Macauley, the British resident at Cochin, Mr. Ringeltaube obtained permission to extend his labours into the kingdom of Travancore. Since that period, he has resided chiefly in that country, and has formed congregations in six or seven different places. In November 1810, the number whom he had baptized amounted to four hundred and twenty-two; but, we fear, that most of them have little or nothing of Christianity about them. The chief object which many of them appear to have had in view, in becoming Christians, was an expectation that they would then be exempted from the public burdens. This idea, Mr. Ringeltaube, indeed, was careful to discourage; and, at length, before he would baptize them, he made them promise that they would perform the accustomed services, and obey the king and magistrates as before. Several people of high cast, both Hindoos and Mahommedans, intimated to him, that they were ready to become Christians, if he would pay their debts; but as he of course declined so disinterested an offer, they never called again. For two hundred rupees, he says he might have bought them all.*

Besides preaching the gospel through the country. Mr. Ringeltaube employed five or six native schoolmasters in teaching the youth; for he justly observes, that it is in vain to print and distribute Bibles, if there are none who can read them. He had likewise several boys in training, who assisted him in reading, writing, and singing, one of whom always accompanied him on his preaching excursions: he also occasionally sent them into the villages, among the scattered proselytes, to teach them the catechism.†

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 113, 114, 117, 373, 374.

† Report of the Miss. Soc. 1813, p. 8.

SECTION IV.

China.

IN January 1807, Mr. Robert Morrison sailed from England for this country, with a particular view to the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese language, as a preparatory step to the introduction of Christianity into this vast empire.* Previous to his departure, he had received some assistance in learning the language from Yong Saam Tak, a native of China, who, at the same time, rendered the mission a still more important service, by transcribing a Chinese translation of a great part of the New Testament, from a manuscript in the British museum. This valuable work was first introduced to the notice of the Christian world, by the Rev. William Mosely, an Independent minister in Northamptonshire, in an excellent Memoir on the importance and practicability of translating and publishing the Holy Scriptures in the Chinese language. According to him, it is lettered by mistake, *Quatuor Evangelia Sinice;* but contains the Gospel of St. Luke, the Acts of the Apostles, and all the Epistles of Paul, except that to the Hebrews.† The manuscript, however, was afterwards examined by Dr. Montucci, a Chinese scholar, who said that it neither contained the four Gospels, as it was lettered, nor the Gospel according to Luke, as Mr. Mosely was informed, but an elaborate selection from all the Evangelists, forming a Harmony of the Gospels. In other respects, he said, that Mr. Mosely was correct with regard to the contents of

* Evan. Mag. vol. xv. p. 84.

† Mosely's Memoir on the importance, &c. of translating the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese language, p. 20.

the work, excepting only that it included the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it abruptly ended, evidently owing to some accident. On a blank leaf at the beginning of the volume, is the following note: "This transcript was made at Canton in 1737 and 1738, by order of Mr. Hodgson, who says, it has been collated with care, and found very correct. Given by him to sir Hans Sloane, bart. in 1739."*

On his arrival in China, Mr. Morrison continued to prosecute the study of the language with great assiduity, under the tuition of native teachers. One of his assistants informed him, that the translation which he brought with him, must have been the work of a native Chinese, as the style was better than he supposed any foreigner could have written. Besides possessing this valuable work, Mr. Morrison has made a very considerable collection of Chinese books, in different branches of literature, as Language, History, Religion, Ethics, Law, Astronomy, Geography, Anatomy, and Medicine. He has also compiled a Grammar and Dictionary of the Chinese language, which he, at one time, proposed speedily to publish; but this he has hitherto delayed, and certainly with great propriety; as there can be no doubt, that the further study of the language will enable him to make great improvements on these works. He sent to England, however, a small manuscript, which has since been printed under the title of, "Horæ Sinicæ, or Translations from the Popular Literature of the Chinese."†

In September 1810, Mr. Morrison sent to the press, the Acts of the Apostles, taken from the manuscript which he carried out with him, and carefully collated by him with the Greek text. The following are the terms on which the Chinese printer, whom he employed, agreed to print it.

* Evan. Mag. vol. ix. p. 445.

† Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 340, 380. Report of the Miss. Soc. 1810, p. 22.

Cutting 30,000 characters, - - - - - -	140 dollars.
Wood for the plates, - - - - - - -	20
Paper, printing, and binding 1000 copies,	361
	521

This charge, indeed, was higher than is common for Chinese books, on account of the risk which the printer ran in printing for a foreigner. Mr. Morrison, however, was to have the plates, which, if they were of good wood, according to the agreement, would strike off fifteen thousand copies, before they needed to be repaired: and thus the price of the subsequent impressions would be materially lessened.*

Since that time, Mr. Morrison has printed the Gospel according to Luke; a small tract on the Way of Salvation; and a short Catechism, containing the principles of the Christian Religion;† and by the last accounts which have been received from him, he had in the press, the Epistles of Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Thessalonians, Timothy, and Titus, and also the Epistles of Peter and James, and a second edition of the Acts of the Apostles, corrected, with the verses annexed.‡

In China, the Christian religion, as propagated by the Roman Catholic missionaries, has been severely persecuted for the last hundred years; and of late, a new edict was issued against such Europeans as should privately print books, or preach the gospel to the people. This proclamation is obviously directed against the Catholic missionaries in the interior of the empire, and will not, we hope, affect Mr. Morrison at Macao.§

In 1812, Mr. William Mylne was sent by the Misssionary Society, to join Mr. Morrison in his labours, and we trust he has arrived at Canton long before now.¶

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 457. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 458.
‡ Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 397. § Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 459.
¶ Report of the Miss. Soc. 1813, p. 18.

SECTION V.

Demarara.*

IN December 1807, Mr. J. Wray was sent by the Missionary Society, to Demarara in South America, in consequence of the request of Mr. Post, a pious and respectable Dutch planter in that colony. Immediately upon his arrival, he had an opportunity of beginning his labours among the slaves of that gentleman, who amounted to about five hundred. From the very first, the negroes discovered a readiness to attend on the preaching of the gospel. Some people came from different plantations in the neighbourhood, and some from a town eight miles distant. Mr. Wray's prospects of success were of the most flattering nature; and, indeed, it was not long before the happiest effects began to result from his labours. Scarcely a day passed, but three or four of the slaves came to him, to learn what they must do to be saved. Others asked him important questions concerning the doctrines of religion. Some who used to be intoxicated twice or thrice a week, now became sober; and some whom the whip could not subdue for years, the gospel subdued in a few months.†

Many of the White people, at first, made considerable opposition to Mr. Wray's labours, and there were even some fears that he might be obliged to leave the country. But the prejudices of the colonists began, in a short time, to subside;

† Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 219.

* Demarara is a river on the coast of Surinam in South America, about 3 leagues to the west of the town of Surinam. It has settlements 200 miles up, and is in lat. 6° 40′ N. and long. 57° 50′ W.

and many of them were convinced, by hearing him preach, and by seeing the good effects of his labours among the slaves, that he was rendering an important service to the country. One gentleman who was so much displeased with the attendance of his Negroes, that he would not allow them their usual portion of fish, now granted them full liberty to come and hear the word.*

Mr. Wray now opened a school for teaching the Negro children to read. It was attended by a great many of the little creatures, and likewise by a considerable number of the adults. He also began a catechetical exercise; and, in the course of a few months, upwards of two hundred of the Negroes learned Dr. Watt's First Catechism, and several some parts of the Assembly's, some prayers, the ten commandments, and other passages of Scripture. Indeed, they seemed never tired of learning. Some of them spent their dinner hour in this exercise, saying it was much better than eating. Teaching them the catechism, however, was a very laborious task, as it was generally necessary to repeat the answer, times without number, before many of them were able to remember it, especially those who spoke Dutch.†

Mr. Wray's congregation increased so much, that it soon became necessary to erect a place of worship for their accommodation. The number of people whom he had an opportunity of instructing, amounted nearly to six hundred. They were not, indeed, all able to attend on public worship at the same time, but yet there were generally about four hundred present. Perhaps a more attentive congregation was never seen. Every individual hung on the lips of the preacher, and seemed anxious to drink in the word. A considerable number of them appeared impressed with concern about their souls, and a great reformation took place among them. The manager of a neighbouring estate declared, he was astonished at the change which had taken place upon the slaves under his charge. Before they heard the gospel,

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 220. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 219, 222, 224.

they were indolent, noisy, rebellious; now they were industrious, quiet, and obedient. Formerly they used to spend three or four nights a week in drumming, dancing, drinking, &c. to the no small disturbance of the neighbourhood, the injury of their own health, and the disabling themselves for work; now they employed their leisure hours in giving and receiving religious instructions, in prayer and praise. Indeed, many who once were ferocious as lions, had now become gentle as lambs.*

In April 1809, the mission sustained a severe loss in the death of Mr. Post, its principal friend and supporter. He was not only the instrument of originally bringing Mr. Wray to the country; but though he met with much obloquy and opposition, on this account, he persevered in his benevolent design, with unshaken resolution. He was looked upon by many as a fool and a madman; he was charged with introducing anarchy, disorder, and discontent among the Negroes; and was even forbidden by authority, "to hold any riotous meeting of slaves on his estate." He resolved, however, to persevere in the path of duty, to study the salvation of the poor Negroes, and to leave the event with God.

In the success which attended the mission, Mr. Post took the deepest interest; but while he beheld with delight the power of religion on the Negroes of others, he had to lament, that his own slaves were, in general, careless and unconcerned about their souls. Though he gave them every encouragement to attend; yet few of them came, either to learn the catechism, or to hear the word. When he was talking to them on this subject, some of them would say, "Massa, me no jacket, me no hat, no shirt to attend church." But though he supplied them with such articles as they needed, they did not continue to attend long, and as an apology for themselves would say, "Me no do bad; me no thief." He had the pleasure, however, to see a few of them come, and was constantly giving them encouragement. He would

* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 222, 251.

converse with them in the most affectionate manner, explain the Bible to them, and catechise them on the truths of religion. One day, during his last illness, when one of his oldest Negroes, a driver of the name of Mars, came to see him, he said to him, "Mars, how are you?" The old man, thinking that he was inquiring what the people were doing, answered, "Picking cotton, Massa." "I do not," replied Mr. Post, "ask you what you have been doing. Picking cotton is nothing to me now; I have done with that." He then called the old Negro to his bed-side, took hold of his hand, and bade him farewell, exhorting him to attend the preaching of the word, to come to Christ, and to meet him at the right hand of God, telling him that he must shortly die, and that though he had been his master, there would soon be no distinction between them.

In promoting the great object of the mission, Mr. Post spared no expence. Within little more than a year, his generous exertions in the cause of religion cost him upwards of one thousand pounds sterling, a noble example of Christian liberality, and exercised too at a time, when, in consequence of the failure of successive crops, the state of the colony was very discouraging. In order, at the same time, to secure the benefit of religious instruction to the Negroes after his death, he secured to the Missionary Society, the chapel which he had erected, together with a dwelling-house, a garden, and the sum of one hundred pounds a year to the minister.*

After the death of Mr. Post, the mission in Demerara continued to flourish; but the enemies of religion in the colony, as well as in several of the West India Islands, succeeded at length in procuring some regulations to be passed, limiting the instruction of the slaves within such hours as amounted nearly to an absolute prohibition of their meeting for religious exercises. Mr. Wray finding that such insur-

* [illegible] vol. xix. p. 41, 47. Report of the Miss. Soc. 1809, p. 26. Ibid. 1810, [illegible]

mountable obstacles were thrown in the way of his usefulness, came over to England, in order that a respectful representation of this grievance might be made by the Missionary Society, to the British government. This was accordingly done, and the result of it was, that an official letter was transmitted to the governor of Demerara, (copies of which were also sent to several other colonies,) signifying the determination of his majesty's government, that the slaves should be allowed to meet every Lord's day, for instruction, from five in the morning to nine in the evening; and on other days, from seven to nine in the evening, provided they had the permission of their respective masters.*

Having gained this important object, Mr. Wray returned to Demerara, and the good effects of the measure were soon apparent. Six or seven hundred of the slaves usually attended his ministry, some of them from a considerable distance; and from thirty to fifty attended thrice a week, to learn to read, and many more who lived at a distance taught each other. But, of late, Mr. Wray has removed to the neighbouring colony of Berbice. Several estates in that quarter which belong to the English crown, being now under the direction of commissioners, these gentlemen applied to him to undertake the religious instruction of the Negroes, a proposal to which the Missionary Society consented; in the hopes of his being there more extensively useful. His parting with the poor Negroes in Demerara was exceedingly affecting, but his place in that colony will it is hoped soon be supplied.†

Indeed, Mr. Davies, whom they sent out soon after the establishment of the mission, to undertake the charge of a school which had been instituted by some gentlemen in the colony, has not only been engaged in teaching the school, but has regularly preached to the Negroes. He has lately finished a large chapel at George Town, which is attended

* Report of the Miss. Soc. 1812, p. 9. 40.

† Ibid. 1813, p. 20. Evan. Mag. vol. xxii. p. 77.

by great numbers of people of different colours, among whom it is said, there are not fewer than a thousand Negroes. The inhabitants of the town contributed more than 600*l.* towards the building; and about 60*l.* was subscribed by the poor Negroes, who gave half a bit, (or two-pence half-penny,) each. An Auxiliary Missionary Society, including people of colour and slaves, has lately been formed at George Town, whose subscriptions amounted to 80*l.**

* Report of the Miss. Soc. 1813, p. 20, 36. Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 489.

CHAPTER X.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE EDINBURGH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

SECTION I.

Susoo Country.

THE Edinburgh Missionary Society, consisting of ministers and private members of the Established Church, and of other denominations of Christians in the town and neighbourhood, was instituted in February 1796. Soon after the formation of the society, they resolved to commence their operations by a mission to the Foulah country, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, in conjunction with the London and Glasglow Missionary Societies, each of which agreed to furnish two missionaries for that purpose.

In September 1797, Messrs. Henry Brunton and Peter Greig, the two missionaries from Edinburg, set off from that city, together with Messrs. Peter Ferguson and Robert Graham from Glasgow; and on their arrival in London, they were joined by Messrs. Alexander Russel and George Cappe. They all sailed soon after on board the Calypso, and after a voyage of about seven weeks, arrived in safety at Freetown, Sierra Leone. Though the mission was originally destined for the Foulah country, yet this was left sub-

ject to alteration, and accordingly, it was now judged most expedient that they should endeavour to establish three distinct missions, partly in consequence of some unhappy differences between Mr. Brunton and several of the other missionaries, and partly in consequence of the Foulahs being then involved in war. It was therefore agreed that Messrs. Russel and Cappe, from London, should go to the Bullam shore, Messrs. Ferguson and Graham, from Glasgow, to the island of Bananas, and Messrs. Brunton and Greig to the Rio Pongas, in the Susoo country.*

Agreeably to this arrangement, Messrs. Brunton and Greig left Freetown about the beginning of 1798, and went to Freeport, a factory belonging to the Sierra Leone Company, situated near a native town called Tugekiring. Here they staid about ten weeks, or rather they only slept and took their victuals at this place; for they spent most of the day among the Susoos in the neighbouring town, with the view of learning their language. They used to go to Tugekiring about seven o'clock in the morning, and stay as long as they could find any one to converse with. It was a custom among the Susoos, to kindle large fires in different parts of the town, and to assemble around them, according to their attachments or their fancy. Brunton and Greig, too, had their favourite fires, at which they learned the language, and talked to the people as well as they were able. Indeed, the Susoos, became fond of them, and the missionaries were no less attached to them. When they happened to be absent a day or two, some of the people seemed quite in raptures when they returned.†

Though the inhabitants of Tugekiring were extremely kind to them, yet the conduct of the missionaries appeared very strange to them. Many of them supposed that they were deranged; some suggested that they were deceitful, but this insinuation gained but little credit among them.

* Miss. Mag. vol. ii. p. 473, 503, 505, 522; vol. iii. p. 137.

† MS. Account by Mr. Brunton, in the Author's possession, p. 1.

The missionaries spoke freely against the idolatry and vicious practices of the people, and many seemed ashamed of these things when they were present. They attempted to teach some of the old people to read; and their pupils would undoubtedly have made progress, had any thing been printed in their own language. Mr. Brunton mentions one man who learned the whole of the alphabet in a single day. During their stay at Tugekiring, the missionaries made various fatiguing journeys to the neighbouring villages, where their general character seemed to be well known. In consequence, however, of their ignorance of the country, and the wasting influence of the climate, they were several times in great danger of perishing in the woods.*

The missionaries had no desire to leave Tugekiring, and many of the inhabitants wished them to stay; but to this the chief could not be prevailed on to give his consent. Being therefore obliged to leave this quarter, they went to Kondaia, a place between thirty and forty miles further up the river, and took up their residence under the protection of Fantimania, who granted them a settlement, after it had been refused by every other chief to whom they had applied; but as they could not trust to his influence alone, they thought it prudent to call a meeting of the neighbouring chiefs, to explain to them their intentions, and to ask their protection. Hitherto, the chiefs had been very suspicious of their views; but they now promised to grant their request.†

Having now learned a little of the language, the missionaries often talked to the people about religion; but this was a subject on which the natives did not like to be troubled. They tried to convince them that all men were sinners, both by nature and practice. This the Susoos were not very backward to confess; but when the missionaries told them, that it necessarily followed they themselves had sinned, they were often disposed to deny the charge. The Mahommedans, indeed, who visited Kondaia, were not so unreasona-

* MS. Account by Mr. Brunton, p. 4. † Ibid. p. 5.

ble; they admitted, that the conclusion was just. Some of the Susoos, however, sent their children to be taught to read, but the missionaries were obliged wholly to maintain them.*

About the beginning of the rainy seasons, both the missionaries turned sick. Mr. Brunton, after bathing one morning in the river, fainted in the woods, and felt strong symptoms of fever about him; but by means of some medicines which he used, the disorder abated in a few days, and he hoped it had taken a favourable turn. About this time, Mr. Greig, who was much fatigued with sitting up with him in the night, began to complain; and as he had a custom of lying down in any place which might strike his fancy, when any thing was the matter with him, Mr. Brunton was afraid he might lie down in this manner, and not be able to rise again. One night the event justified his fears. Having inquired for his colleague as dilligently as he could about the dusk of the evening, he could hear nothing of him; and therefore he asked Mr. Welch, a slave trader, to send his people in search of him. They found him lying on a bank of the river unable to rise; and he would undoubtedly have perished in this situation, had not assistance been sent to him. This was the beginning of a fever, which lasted about three weeks; and during the greater part of that time, he was speechless, or if he did happen to speak a little, what he said was no more than sufficient to shew that he was delirious. During Mr. Greig's illness, Mr. Brunton's fever became evidently intermittent. Between the paroxysms, he was for the most part able to crawl from his own apartment to his colleague's; but as the ague returned regularly every night, it was not in his power to sit up with him. He offered to pay any of the Negro women whatever they might choose to demand, as soon as he was able to procure goods; but they always asked, whether he would die; and, shuddering at the thought of this, declined the proposal. Mr. Brunton had then no alternative, but to sit up with him every

* MS. Account by Mr. Brunton, p. 7.

evening, as long as he was able, and to rise in the middle of the night in a burning fever, and to crawl into his apartment to see how he was. Sometimes he found him in a very melancholy condition. Often the rain was pouring in upon him, while he knew nothing of it; for the house admitted a deluge of water, both above and below. Once Mr. Brunton found him fallen out of bed, and lying apparently motionless among the water, which had come in beneath the walls, and overflowed the floor. It required all the exertion he could make to put him into bed again; but how to secure him in it was beyond his invention. He could do nothing, but rise as usual, and see how he was doing. About the dawn of day, Mr. Brunton was astonished to see him sitting in the door of his apartment, under circumstances of a very distressing nature. One of the negroes, however, came in, and put him into bed. At other times, when Mr. Brunton was unable to rise, the natives found him out of bed, and trying to get out of the house. At length, however, he became so weak, as to be unable to move.*

Mr. Brunton now began to be much alarmed about him. The boys who lodged with him seemed afraid of his dying, and were averse to sleep in the same apartment with him. Indeed, though it was the best in the house, it was too bad for the meanest animal to sleep in. So long as the weather was dry, they had no idea that it would admit the water in the manner it did. They had begun, indeed, to get it repaired; but they were taken ill at that very time. It had no windows, but only two holes, without either glass or boards. The tornadoes were often dreadful beyond description. Trees sufficient to crush their old crazy habitation were blown down close to it. The whole heavens seemed sometimes in a blaze of lightning, while the awful peals of thunder added to the horror of the scene. Several, if not all, of the boys, went and sought more comfortable lodgings; but poor Mr. Greig could not leave the house for the most aw-

* MS. Account by Mr. Brunton, p. 8.

ful storm. One night, when Mr. Brunton rose to see how he was, he could discern no life in him; and though he could not have said positively that he was dead, yet he was rather inclined to think this was the case. At that time, he could call no one to his assistance; and he was obliged to lie down, and leave him alone; his own fever distracted his brain. He began to think with much anxiety, where Mr. Greig's corpse should be buried; but happily, in the morning, he found him alive, though he had no hope of his recovery. "Few circumstances in my life," says he, "have left a stronger impression on my mind, than those now related. A bird, which ushered in the day with its melodious notes, is fresh in my memory. Indeed, it fixed itself in such a happy situation every morning, that I was sometimes almost led to think it was a kind of messenger from heaven, sent to cheer me in my dreary residence."*

After Mr. Greig had been in the most imminent danger for nearly three weeks, his illness suddenly took a favourable turn. As soon as he could be moved, Mr. Brunton got him on board a small vessel, and sent him to a place about forty miles down the river; and from thence he was conveyed to Freetown. About two months elapsed before Mr. Brunton again saw him. He then went down to Freetown, and arrived there early one morning. The town was perfectly quiet; but when he came near the house of one of the Europeans, he heard a frightful groaning. He then began to fear that Mr. Greig was in his former melancholy condition. He walked about till the settlers began to open their doors; and on entering this house, he found Mr. Greig lying very poorly; but it was not he who was so ill. It was Mr. Russel, from the London Missionary Society. He died about midday, and was buried in the afternoon. Mr. Cappe, too, was very ill in the same house. The missionaries from Glasgow had both died before this time.†

* MS. Account by Mr. Brunton, p. 14.

† Ibid. p. 16.

Mr. Greig having got a good deal better in the course of the rainy season, returned again to the Rio Pongas;* but Mr. Brunton remained at Freetown, to supply the place of Mr. Clark, the late chaplain of the colony. Mr. Greig now made such progress in the Susoo language, that we have been informed by Mr. Brunton, he spoke it as fluently as English, and his labours, he said, were like those of an apostle. After translating and explaining a passage of Scripture morning and evening, he prayed with the family, which at one time is mentioned as consisting of about eighteen persons, in their own language. Besides this, he catechised them twice a day on the principles of religion, so that by this means they began to obtain a tolerable knowledge of the truths of the gospel. On the Sabbath morning, the boys were sent to the town to give notice to the people to come to public worship, for Fantimania had given him a new house to live in, which he had built for himself, and which answered very well both for a dwelling-house and a church. The family stood around, and were examined by him, in the presence of the strangers, with regard to a vast catalogue of Susoo vices, which he had collected during the week. The surprise that often appeared in the people's countenances when they heard themselves condemned by their children, was somewhat curious. After catechising the boys, Mr. Greig prayed in the Susoo language: a discourse was then delivered to them, after which he concluded with prayer. When the whole service was over, a pipe and tobacco were offered to any who might choose to stay, and such conversation was introduced, as seemed of a profitable nature: several were likewise often desired to stop to dinner. About thirty of the natives, besides the family, regularly attended these meetings; and when any of the constant hearers happened to be absent, they usually made an excuse. They commended the things that were told them, and said that they believed them. The conduct of several of them; so far as Mr.

* MS. Account by Mr. Brunton, p. 18.

Greig had an opportunity of knowing, was at least as blameless as that of the most of professed Christians in this country. One or two of them seemed to be somewhat impressed by what they heard from the Portuguese Christians, several of whom are still to be found in that quarter.*

Mr. Greig frequently visited the neighbouring villages, and discoursed to the people on the subject of religion. He used to take some tobacco with him, which he divided among those with whom he conversed. This prevented them from feeling that irritation of mind, which he was afraid would arise from what he said; for he used to deal very honestly with them, and reprove them for their sins in the plainest manner. In these labours, Mr. Brunton, who occasionally visited the Rio Pongas, took a part: Sometimes Mr. Greig acted as his interpreter; and sometimes he himself attempted to address the Susoos in their own language. In this manner they preached the gospel in all the villages in the neighbourhood. Sometimes the people asked them, Why they did not baptize them like the Portuguese? and appeared willing to be baptized. But this was a measure about which they had determined not to be hasty. Indeed, they never had sufficient ground to think that any of them were duly convinced of the evil of sin, or that they received the truth in the love of it. There was reason to fear that their attention to the Sabbath, and their laying aside several things of which the missionaries disapproved, proceeded chiefly from their kindness to them, and not from the influence of religion on their heart.†

Such was the state of the mission, when a period was unexpectedly put to the valuable life of Mr. Greig, under circumstances of a peculiarly affecting nature. In January 1800, only a few days after Mr. Brunton had parted with him, seven men of the Foulah nation, who were travelling through the country, came to pay him a visit. Mr. Greig treated

* MS. Account of Mr. Brunton, p. 19. † Ibid, p. 22.

them with the greatest kindness; and with the view, no doubt, of recommending the gospel to them, he amused them by shewing them a number of European articles which he had in his possession. In this manner, they spent the evening very cheerfully together; and as a further expression of friendship, he allowed three of them to sleep in his house. This act of kindness, however, proved fatal to himself. The barbarians, impelled by an ardent desire of the articles he had shown them, rose in the night, and murdered their friendly host, by cutting his throat with a razor. Some of the boys who were entrusted to his care, were in the house at the time, but they were all asleep except one, who was so frightened when he saw the Foulahs begin to execute their bloody purpose, that he endeavoured to conceal himself as quietly as possible.* Fantimania, who had taken Mr. Greig under his protection, was extremely sorry at his death, and he, together with some others of the Susoo chiefs, endeavoured to apprehend the murderers, and it was reported that they had taken two of them in the Foulah country. Several persons of that nation were detected carrying away his property about the time he was murdered. They were put in irons, and carried to Freeport; the Susoos were so enraged at them, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from falling upon them, and putting them to death.†

Previous to the death of Mr. Greig, the Edinburgh Missionary Society had sent Mr. Robert Alexander to join him in his labours among the Heathen; but before his arrival at Sierra Leone, that excellent young man was no more. Being discouraged by this circumstance, Mr. Alexander resolved to remain for the present at Freetown, and to endeavour to render himself useful in the colony. But finding that the climate did not agree with his health, and seeing but little prospect of success, he soon after left the country, and returned to Britain.‡

* Miss. Mag. vol. v. p. 360. † MS. Account by Mr. Brunton, p. 27.
‡ Dick's Sermon before the Edinburgh Miss. Soc. 1801, p. 39.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Brunton, whose constitution had been materially impaired in Africa, was also obliged to leave the country. After his arrival in Scotland, his health was in some degree restored, and at the desire of the Church Missionary Society, as it is now called, he compiled and printed the following works in the Susoo language, with the view of facilitating the labours of future missionaries in that country: A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Susoo language; A Spelling book for the instruction of the Susoos, with a translation of the Church Catechism; a Catechism in the Susoo and English; A second Catechism; a Third, or an Historical Catechism; Three Dialogues, the first on the advantage of letters, the second on the absurdity of the religious opinions of the Susoos; and the third on the comparative excellence of the Mahommedan and the Christian religion; Christian Instructions for the Susoos, or an Abridgement of the History and Doctrines of the Bible. This may justly be considered as a new epoch in the history of the Susoo country. Never before was any book written, much less printed, in the native languages of the Western parts of Africa.*

Mr. Brunton's health being at length in a considerable degree re-established, he prepared to set off on a new mission to the countries in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea. Of this mission we shall now proceed to give an account.

SECTION II.

TARTARY.

IN April 1802, the Rev. Henry Brunton and Mr. Alexander Paterson were sent by the Edinburgh Missionary Socity, on an exploratory mission to the countries lying between

* Proceedings of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, vol i.

the Caspian and the Black Seas. Having proceeded by the way of Petersburg, they met with so many difficulties and discouragements on their arrival in that city, that they almost despaired of obtaining liberty to travel through the Russian empire; but they at length, unexpectedly, found a friend in the person of M. Novassilzoff, a nobleman in the confidence of the emperor, and a lord of his bed-chamber. Through his means, they immediately obtained the countenance and approbation of government. Passports were granted them, with full liberty to travel through the empire, and to settle in any part of Tartary they might think proper; post horses were ordered for their use; private letters of introduction were given them; and an open letter was written by the nobleman now mentioned, recommending them to the protection and attention of all officers in the country, civil and military. Under these auspicious circumstances, the missionaries proceeded on their journey, and were every where treated with kindness and respect. The magistrates of the places through which they passed, were forward to assist them; and many private individuals likewise shewed them the utmost hospitality. Having, at length, arrived in Tartary, they resolved to take up their residence in a village named Karass, containing upwards of five hundred inhabitants, all of whom were Mahommedans. It was situated on the east side of the largest of the five mountains called Besh-tow, in about 43° North latitude, and 61° East longitude.*

Judging it indispensably necessary, not only to their own comfort, but to the success of the mission, that they should be able to supply themselves with the necessaries of life, independent of the natives, they wrote to M. Novassilzoff, their generous friend at the Russian court, acquainting him with the situation they had chosen, and soliciting from the emperor, a grant of land and certain other privileges, relative to the ransoming of slaves from the Tartars; particular-

* Religious Monitor, vol. i. p. 35; vol. ii. p. 192; vol. vii. p. 566.

ly that they should have a right to them until they were twenty-three years of age, with the view of training them up in the principles of the Christian religion, and instructing them in the useful arts of life. To this request, they received a most gracious answer from his imperial majesty, who was pleased not only to grant, but highly to approve of their proposals.*

Encouraged by these favourable circumstances, the Edinburgh Missionary Society, in April 1803, sent out a new reinforcement of missionaries, namely, Andrew Hay, John Dickson, John Hardie, Douglass Cousin, and Charles Fraser, several of whom were married, together with the family of Mr. Brunton, consisting in all of fifteen persons. On their arrival at Petersburg, they met with the kindest reception from his excellency M. Novassilzoff, and other friends in that city. Having received letters of recommendation to the governors of the different provinces through which they were to pass, together with a government courier and interpreter, they set off for Karass; and after a journey of about ten weeks, they arrived in safety at that place.†

In the meanwhile, Brunton and Paterson had been diligently employed in learning the Tartar language, which differs from the Turkish chiefly in this, that the latter is enriched with numbers of words from the Arabic and Persic. Having written and circulated several short addresses on the subject of religion, they excited a great deal of conversation concerning the claims of Christ and Mahommed, throughout Circassia and the neighbouring parts of Tartary. Some of the effendis or doctors frankly confessed, that they were unable to answer the arguments of the missionaries, but still they shewed no inclination to embrace the truth, and were even averse to enter into any kind of discussion, concerning the evidences of their religion.‡ The priest of the village, named Abdy, was particularly thoughtful; his mind was

* Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 79. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 151, 155, 193, 279, 357.
‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 278, 358.

sometimes so perplexed, that he could not sleep; he even acknowledged to the missionaries the truth of Christianity, but yet he was afraid to renounce Mahommedanism, as he said, that should he do so, they would soon see his head upon a pole. It was extremely difficult, indeed, to form a correct opinion of his character and views. Sometimes he spoke like a zealous Mahommedan; at other times like a serious Christian. One day, in talking with some people who were connected with the missionaries, he advised them to read the Bible carefully, and to satisfy themselves as to its truth, while they were young. "As for me," said he, "I am a poor old miserable man. I know not what to believe. I cannot say that I am either of the one religion or the other. I stand between the two, and am distracted with doubts and uncertainty." At another time, when speaking of the cheerfulness with which they should obey the will of God, he said, "Jesus Christ hath shed his blood for you, and why should you grudge to do thus much for him?"—When conversing with the missionaries, he spoke in a similar style; but, it was said, he had been heard to declare, it would have been well for him had he never seen the New-Testament. He travelled through the whole country, visiting the doctors and effendis, in order to obtain answers to the objections which the missionaries raised against his creed; but instead of having his difficulties removed, his statement of them rather tended to excite doubts in the minds of some of his learned brethren. He himself possessed a sound judgment, was eloquent, very inquisitive, and rather of a suspicious temper. Though in the early period of his life, he might have received his religious sentiments without much examination, yet now nothing but the strongest evidence could induce him either to embrace new opinions, or renounce his old principles. Still, however, through fear of the chiefs, and the love of this world, he continued to exercise the office of a priest among his countrymen. He seemed, indeed, to have persuaded himself, that, on account

of the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, God would not condemn him for professing a religion which he did not believe.*

In the summer of 1804, the plague began to make its appearance in the neighbourhood of Karass; but as the Mahommedans, from their abuse of the doctrine of predestination, seldom think of going out of the way of that dreadful disorder, or using any precautions against it, so they were at great pains to conceal its approach both from the missionaries and the Russians. Some of the chiefs even threatened to put any person to death, who should inform the missionaries of it; and when the Russian general sent some officers, with a party of Cossacks, to inquire concerning it, the Tartars positively denied that they knew any thing about it, though at that very moment it was raging in a village at no great distance. To add to the general distress, war now broke out between the Russians and the Kabardians. Many of the former were in various places murdered by the latter; and though they repeatedly came to an agreement, yet the barbarians were so regardless of their oaths, that they broke them the first opportunity. These disastrous events could not fail to create the missionaries much anxiety and distress. Every day brought them new and alarming reports. The whole family, men, women, and children, sometimes slept with their clothes on, ready to fly in case of danger; and more than once, the dread of an immediate attack drove them to the woods. On one occasion, a plundering party of Kabardians carried off three of their horses; and, it was said, they expressed a strong desire to get the native children into their possession. In consequence of these circumstances, the missionaries judged it expedient to leave Karass for the present, and to retire to Georghievsk, a Russian fort, about thirty-two versts distant. It is scarcely possible to conceive the concern which the inhabitants of the village

* Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 279, 358; vol. ii. p. 116; vol. iii. p. 421, vol. iv. p. 159, vol. v. p. 380. vol. vi. p. 428.

manifested at their departure. Nine Tartars, with carts, went with them to the fort, and Islam Gerry, the sultan, who had uniformly shewn himself their warm and decided friend, accompanied them almost the whole of the way.*

To aggravate these calamities, the missionary family suffered most severely from the ravages of disease and death. In the course of little more than twelve months, no fewer than six of them were carried to the grave, namely, Mr. Cousin, Mr. Hardie, Mr. Hay, Mrs. Hay, Mrs. Paterson, both of them very useful women, and a child of Mr. Dickson's. Such severe and successive strokes could not fail to be deeply felt, both by the missionaries themselves, and by their friends at home; but it was not long before others were found to supply the ranks of those who had fallen.†

In May 1805, the society sent out four new missionaries to Tartary, namely, John Mitchell, Robert Pinkerton, George M'Alpine, and James Galloway; two of whom, previous to their departure had learned the art of printing; and besides other useful articles, they took with them a printing press, and a font of Arabic types, which is the character generally used in that country.‡ On their arrival at Karass, whither the other missionaries had again returned, they lost no time in erecting the press, and in employing that powerful engine for the propagation of Christianity in the country. The first work which they printed, was a small tract, in the Turkish language, against Mahommedanism, written by Mr. Brunton, who appears to have possessed a very correct knowledge of that language. As a proof of this, it is not unworthy of notice, that many alledged, that the tracts, circulated by the missionaries, were not written by any of themselves, but must have been the work of some Turk, whom they employed for this purpose. Others insinuated, that Mr. Brunton was not an Englishman, as he pretended, but some renegado Turk. Upon the publication of this little work, it crea-

* Relig. Mon. vol. ii. p. 467. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 194, 469; vol. iii. 73, 156, 238.
‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 189.

ted no small sensation in the country, particularly among the effendis.* One who had visited the missionaries a considerable time before, with the view of converting them to the Mahommedan faith, was not only shaken in his sentiments, but was so troubled in his mind, that, for some nights he was scarcely able to sleep. He had travelled through Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and other countries; and was one of the most learned and respectable doctors in all that quarter. At first, he was extremely bitter against Christianity, but after he became acquainted with the missionaries, his violence abated; and, for some time past, he had been so very friendly to them, that some of the more zealous Mahommedans threatened to kill him on account of his attachment to them. Several other effendis, of the first rank in the country, made no secret of their suspicions respecting the truth of their own religion.†

Agreeably to the plan which they had proposed to the Russian government, the missionaries began, at an early period, to ransom some of the Tartars, who were in a state of slavery, particularly some young persons, with the view of training them up from their early years in the principles of religion, and teaching them the useful arts of life, by which means, they hoped Christianity would be most effectually propagated in the country.‡ Several of the ransomed now professed to embrace the gospel; and as their conduct fully corresponded with their profession, they were solemnly baptized in the name of Christ.§ Among others who embraced Christianity, Katagerry, the son of one of the neighbouring chiefs, deserves particular notice. He was lineally descended from the Khans of the Crimea, and was allied to some of the principal families in the East. Having become acquainted with Mr. Brunton, soon after the missionaries arrived in the country, he early formed a particular attachment

* Relig. Mon. vol. iv. p. 115, 273; vol. v p. 48.

† Ibid. vol ii. p. 193; vol. iv. p 273, 394.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 115; vol iii. p. 470; vol. iv p. 151; vol. v. p. 89.

§ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 116; vol. v. p. 273; vol. vi. p. 43.

to him. Interested by his fine appearance, his superior talents, and his engaging manners, Mr. Brunton, on the other hand, was eager to instruct him in the principles of Christianity; and though he had been educated by a priest, it was not long before the ingenuous youth perceived the vast superiority of the gospel of Christ to the religion of Mahommed. Having, at length, openly avowed his belief of Christianity, he was baptized by the missionaries; and, from that period, he was stedfast in the profession of it, notwithstanding the persecution he suffered from his relations, and the derision with which he was loaded by his acquaintance. Some of the chiefs even threatened to kill him, unless he should return to the faith of his ancestors; on other occasions, they endeavoured to gain him by the liberality of their promises; but neither promises nor threatnings, neither harsh nor gentle treatment, made any impression upon him. Katagerry, however, was not merely steadfast in his adherence to the Christian faith; he was also zealous in spreading it among his countrymen. He lost no opportunity of recommending it to their attention; he boldly defended it when it was attacked; he argued even with the mollahs and effendis, and laboured to expose their absurd opinions, and their wicked practices, to the view of the poor deluded people. This interesting youth afterwards entered into the Russian service; but though, by this means, he was separated from the missionaries, he still retained a strong attachment to them; and wherever he went, was eager to spread the knowledge of Christianity.*

It has already been stated, that the missionaries had obtained, from the Russian government, a grant of land, soon after their arrival in the country; and, at their desire, a person was now sent to Karass, to measure off the ground which they had chosen, amounting in all to six thousand dessatines†

* Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 279, 392; vol. ii. p. 115; vol. iv. p. 149, 152: vol. v. p. 88, 421: vol. vi. p. 95, 187, 471; vol. vii. p. 229, 270; vol. x. p. 313; vol. xi. p. 229, 418.

† A dessatine contains 117,600 English square feet.

Of this, a topographical description was transmitted to the minister of the interior at St. Petersburg, with a request, that certain privileges, which were deemed essential to the prosperity of the mission, might be conferred upon them. With the view of forwarding this important measure, it was found necessary for one of the missionaries to visit that city. Accordingly, Mr. Mitchell proceeded thither in May 1806, and happily succeeded in obtaining all the immunities which they desired. By one article, it was declared, that they should be exempted from all personal and landed taxes and charges whatever, for the space of thirty years; that, at the expiration of that period, they should pay yearly fifteen copecks* for each dessatine of land fit for cultivation; that, in future, they should be subject to no other public charges and imposts whatever; and that they should be forever exempted from civil and military service, and also from military quarters. By another article, it was provided, that the internal affairs of the settlers, respecting religion, the management of their land, their property, and their police, should always be subject to their own direction, or that of a committee chosen by them; and that this committee should have the power of granting passports to all members of the settlement, who wished either to travel into the interior of the empire, or to go abroad. This last was a privilege which had never been granted to any foreign colonists but themselves. The exemption from taxes for thirty years was double the period that any other settlement enjoyed; and while the United Brethren at Sarepta pay for every dessatine of land they have, whether good or bad, the missionaries at Karass are to pay only for those parts which are fit for cultivation.†

In April 1809, the missionaries received a message from a Sonna prince, requesting them to send some persons to instruct his people in the principles of the Christian religion.

† Relig. Mon. vol. iv. p. 153, 311, 349.

* About sixpence sterling.

The Sonna country lies about seven days journey from Karass, and is said to contain upwards of fifty villages or towns, and about two hundred thousand inhabitants, who, it seems, are professed Christians. They believe, we are told, in one God, and in Jesus Christ, as their only King and Saviour. They pray that God would bless them for Christ's sake, and continue to them the privileges which their forefathers enjoyed. They baptize their children four or five days after their birth, by washing them all over the body. They devote the Sabbath to the purposes of religion; and when they swear, they wish that they may be turned to the left hand of Christ at the day of judgment, should their oath be false. In their churches, they have images, some of which, they say, were formed by the power of God. In one of them, there is the image of a young horse, which, according to them, was produced in this miraculous manner. They have likewise, in their places of worship, a number of large books, which their priests read, but do not pretend to explain, their religious services consisting chiefly of singing and praying. Their priests are allowed to marry; and when they officiate in public, they are arrayed in long garments, richly ornamented with silver and gold. They inoculate their children with the small-pox, on the crown of their head. From these circumstances, the missionaries concluded, that the Sonnas were Greek Christians, and that, probably, they had once belonged to the Georgian church. They had long been anxious to visit them, with the view of learning more particularly, the state of religion among them, and in the hope of being useful to them. Mr. Paterson had already made an attempt to penetrate into that part of the country, but was obliged to return without accomplishing his design; and, from the distracted state of the neighbouring tribes, it was at present deemed unadvisable to renew the attempt.*

In March 1810, the whole number of persons belonging to the missionary settlement at Karass amounted to thirty-

* Relig. Mon. vol. vi. p. 187; vol. vii. p. 465, 568.

nine. But besides the persons more immediately connected with the mission, there were in the settlement one Mahommedan and two German families; and, since that time, their number has been considerably augmented, by the addition of a great many other German colonists; a measure which, we fear, will not be attended with the best effects, in respect of the mission among the Tartars.*

The missionaries had now circulated a considerable number of tracts through the country, and, by this means, had excited a spirit of inquiry among the people. The chiefs, however, were hostile to their circulation, and prohibited their subjects from reading them, under the severest penalties. The Mahommedan tribes, to the south of Karass, displayed the most furious enthusiasm in support of their religion. Inspired with a bloody zeal, they threatened destruction to all who bore the Christian name. Paradise, with all its sensual delights, was preached up with more than ordinary earnestness by the effendis and mollahs; and in consequence of this, a considerable number of the people had already sacrificed their lives in fighting for the religion of the prophet. The missionaries were, in a particular manner, the object of their rage and malice; and they had lately employed means to destroy them; but owing to certain unforeseen causes, their malignant designs were happily disappointed. Though their enemies acknowledged that they were quiet inoffensive people, they complained that they were zealous in endeavouring to seduce the people.†

The Tartars, to the north of Karass, seemed no less determined to oppose the labours of the missionaries, and the progress of the gospel. The chiefs and effendis had of late several meetings, to take the affairs of religion under consideration. They passed various laws against those who neglected to attend prayers at the *Muschid;* and they appointed some of their number to visit the villages, and see these

* Relig. Mon. vol. viii. p. 324; vol. x. p. 108; vol. xi. p. 110, 148.
† Ibid. vol. vii. p. 228; vol. viii. p. 416.

laws carried into execution. About sixty young men in a village, a few miles from Karass, were learning to be priests, in order to obstruct more effectually the progress of the gospel; and the schools throughout the country were crowded with scholars, as the chiefs, who were particularly hostile to the progress of Christianity, earnestly advised the people to have their children taught to read, that they might be able to withstand the arguments of the missionaries, and to defend their own religion. The common people, however, though much intimidated by these proceedings, were not insensible of the violence of the means which were employed to preserve them sound in the faith; and several of the effendis complained, that they did not meet with the same respect from them as formerly.*

In March 1813, Mr. Brunton departed this life, after a painful illness of several weeks. Happy should we have been, could we have spoken of his character and conduct with unqualified approbation; but though he was certainly a man of a vigorous understanding, and possessed a great facility in acquiring languages, as well as various other qualities which fitted him to be a useful missionary among the Heathen, yet it cannot be denied, that there were faults in his character, which more than counterbalanced these excellencies; and, indeed, toward the close of his life, his conduct was a disgrace to the cause in which he was engaged. It is painful to record such circumstances, but impartiality demands it of us. Let not the infidel triumph in the fall of poor Brunton; let the Christian shed a tear over his memory; and "let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."†

It is proper here to add, that Mr. Brunton, soon after his arrival in the country, began to translate the New Testament into the Turkish language, or rather the language of the Nogoy Tartars, which is a dialect of it, and which he thought would be understood by most of the Tartars who could read, from the banks of the Wolga to the shores of the Euxine

* Relig. Mon. vol. viii. p. 417. † Ibid. vol. xi. p. 228.

Sea. In carrying on this work, he derived essential assistance from the translation of the New Testament in Turkish, by Dr. Lazarus Seamen, which was published in England about the middle of the seventeenth century. This work he completed before his last illness commenced; and we are happy to add, that the printing of it was finished a few weeks after his death. The edition consisted of two thousand five hundred copies, and is no doubt now in circulation through the country. The missionaries were also printing an impression of Brown's Catechism in English, for the use of the children in the settlement, who understand that language; and Mr. Paterson had translated it into German, for the benefit of the families of the colonists, but owing to some imperfections in the German types, it has not yet been printed.*

In August last, the number of the inhabitants of the missionary settlement at Karass amounted to 165 persons, namely, 25 British, six of whom were missionaries, 18 natives, and 122 Germans. Since the establishment of the mission, twenty-seven natives have been ransomed, ten of whom have been baptized. Of this number five have died, some of whom, there was reason to hope, departed in the faith of Christ. One of the baptized, and four of the unbaptized had run off to the Kabardians.†

Since that time, however, the settlement at Karass has been abandoned. Of late they had been under frequent alarms of an attack by the natives; and in the course of last summer, a Turkish effendi came from the Kuban, pretending to have authority from the Turkish court, to invite all the Tartars in this quarter to remove to the other side of that river. This he pretended was an article of the late peace between Russia and Turkey; but as the Russian commander knew nothing of such an agreement, he refused to allow the Tartars to go, until he should receive instructions from

* Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 278; vol. iii. p. 30; vol. xi. p. 308; vol. x. p. 465. MSS. Accounts.

† Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 478.

Petersburg. The effendi, on the other hand, insisted on his demand being complied with immediately, and it is said was raising an army to carry them away by force. To this measure the Tartars themselves appear to have had no objection. Those in the neighbourhood of Karass, after burning their towns, have all left the country; not a single village is left. The missionaries were under great apprehensions lest they should carry them along with them; but happily none of their enemies came near them, though two robbers who headed a party which attacked them some time before, and who had since frequently threatened them, were in the gang. As the danger, however, was by no means over, they have removed with their families to the fort of Georghievsk, which has more than once afforded them an asylum, under similar circumstances.*

* Relig. Mon. vol. vi. p. 465.

CHAPTER XI.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Susoo Country.

THE Church Missionary Society, as it is now called, was instituted in the year 1800, by some members of the Church of England.* Having failed in procuring missionaries of their own communion, they were at length successful in obtaining two from the Missionary Seminary, established at Berlin, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Jænicke;† and they resolved to commence their operations by a mission to the Susoo country, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone.

In the Spring of 1804, these two missionaries, Messrs. Renner and Hartwig, sailed from England, and after an agreeable voyage of seven weeks, arrived in safety at Sierra Leone. The colony having been long destitute of a regular chaplain, Mr. Renner undertook, for the present, the charge of their spiritual concerns, and, in the meanwhile, he hoped to become enured to the climate, and to acquire some knowledge of the Susoo language. Mr. Hartwig and his wife, were attacked soon after their arrival, by a severe fever; at

* It was originally called, The Society for Missions to Africa and the East.

† This institution, which was formed a few years ago, took its rise from the benevolence of Baron Von Shirnding, a nobleman of Saxony, much distinguished by his zeal for the propagation of Christianity among the Heathen. *Evan. Mag.* vol. ix. p. 210.

one time, they appeared to be brought near the gates of death, nor, indeed, did they recover, until after an illness of many months. On his recovery, he employed himself in making excursions into the neighbouring country, with the view of improving his knowledge of the Susoo language; and after some time, he had the prospect of settling in a town, supposed to contain about three thousand inhabitants.

In February 1806, the Society sent out four other missionaries to Sierra Leone, namely, Messrs. Schultz, Nylander, Prasse, and Butscher. They had not, however, sailed above a week, when they were stranded on the coast of Ireland, near Wexford. Destruction, at first, seemed inevitable; but soon after the vessel struck, the day dawned, and, to their inexpressible joy, they descried the land at no great distance. Having procured assistance from shore, they all landed in safety, though part of their property was lost.

Soon after, Nylander, Prasse, and Butscher, embarked again for Sierra Leone; but owing to a variety of circumstances, it was several months before they arrived at Freetown, and a still longer period elapsed before they commenced their missionary operations.

At length, in March 1808, Messrs. Renner, Butscher, and Prasse left Sierra Leone, and proceeded to the Susoo country.* From several of the chiefs, they met with the kindest reception, and the greatest encouragement; but to others, their proposal of teaching them good things, seemed very unaccountable, and even almost ridiculous. What they had hitherto known of White men, prepared them to view, with surprise and suspicion, any desire of Christians to settle among them with a benevolent design.

Soon after their arrival, a trader of the name of Curtis, transferred to them a factory, belonging to him, at a place called Bashia, on condition that they would teach his chil-

* Previous to this, Mr. Hartwig had withdrawn from the service of the Society. Mr. Nylander was left at Sierra Leone, as chaplain to the colony.

dren. The house consisted of two stories, was about sixty feet wide, and twenty in breadth. It was built chiefly of country brick, and there were several other houses attached to it. The garden also was extensive, and contained abundance of lemon, plaintain, pine, and other trees. The surrounding country was hilly, but the prospect was pleasant, especially opposite the settlement, were hundreds of palm trees presented a charming view. One of the first cares of the missionaries was to bring the garden and the ground into some kind of order; and soon after, they began to receive some of the Negro children under their care.

About the same time, Butscher and Prasse proceeded to finish a house at another town called Fantimania, further up the country, but it was not long before the latter was taken ill and died. He was of a healthy vigorous constitution; but having, in the course of a journey, caught cold, in consequence, it was supposed, of wading through several creeks, in order to avoid a circuitous route, he was attacked by a fever, which in a few days carried him to the grave.

In October 1809, Messrs. Barneth and Wenzel, two new missionaries whom the society had lately sent out, arrived in the Susoo country. Upon their arrival, a consultation was held concerning the affairs of the mission, and it was agreed that they should settle at Fantimania, while Renner and Butscher should reside at Bashia. Mr. Barneth, however, had scarcely arrived in the country, when he was brought so low by repeated attacks of fever, that he died shortly after. He was a man of a peculiarly simple and affectionate temper, of ardent piety toward God, and of fervent love to man. During the short time he was in the country, he was much beloved by the natives, and greatly respected by all who knew him.

Since their settlement in the country, the missionaries appear to have made no attempts for Christianizing the people in the way of preaching, from a pernicious idea that little success was to be expected with the adults, particularly on

the coast where the slave trade has ruined the morals, and debased the feelings of the inhabitants. This is a circumstance which we cannot but deeply regret, as the preaching of the gospel is certainly the grand engine appointed by God, for the conversion of the Heathen world; and it has already been crowned with wonderful success, in many cases, which, to the eye of sense, were much more hopeless than that of the Susoos. The object to which they have principally directed their attention, is the education of the young. It was the wish of the society, that, after acquiring the Susoo tongue they should teach the children to read their own language; but as those who were intrusted to their care were all sent for the express purpose of learning "the White man's book," to which their parents chiefly looked for rendering them superior to others of their countrymen, they found it necessary to acquiesce in their wishes, and to employ their principal attention in teaching them the English language. Some of the scholars were the sons of chiefs, whose good will was thereby secured to the mission, and several of them were ransomed from slavery by the missionaries. Such of them as belonged to traders, were supported by their parents; but the children of the Susoos, it was necessary to furnish with food and clothing, as well as to educate them. The missionaries, with great liberality, proposed to maintain them out of their salaries, but the number increased so much, that this was out of their power. Renner and Butscher, however, still offered to live on one half of their salary, and to devote the other half, amounting to 100*l.* a year, to this benevolent purpose; thus furnishing a striking proof of their disinterestedness and zeal, in the sacred cause, in which they were engaged.

In December 1810, the number of children under their care, amounted to between fifty and sixty.* Mr. Butscher,

* The missionaries have now about a hundred and twenty children under their care, and they have introduced the Lancastrian system of education into their schools.

with thirty boys, occupied the new school-house, which he had built with a great deal of trouble, during the dry season. Mr. Renner and his wife resided in the old house, with twenty-five girls, who were all neatly dressed in frocks and gowns, which they made under the superintendence of that useful woman. In supporting so large a family, however the missionaries had, of late, met with considerable difficulties, in consequence of the scarcity and high price of rice. The natives did not bring them a single basket of that article for sale; they disposed of what they had for rum, and did not value their cloth. The missionaries, however, obtained a supply from the traders; and had it not been for this supply, they would have been under the necessity of sending all the children home to their parents, though even they would have been ill able to support them, for some of them were so much in want of provisions, that several of their people died of hunger. The price of provisions, indeed, was so high, that the missionaries thought their family could not be maintained longer than a fortnight, with the goods which they had in their store. In this extremity, it occurred to Mr. Butscher to apply to Fananda, a chief, at a place about forty miles distant, who had been several years in England, for his education, and who had expressed a strong desire that they would settle in his town. On learning their wants, he frankly offered to thrash out two tons of rice for them, within a few days; and though that article had, of late been selling so high as fifty pounds a ton, yet when Butscher told him, he had no money to pay for it at present, he generously replied, "My dear sir, I do not look to your money. Pay when you can. I look more to the purpose for which you came into this country, to teach children; and I should feel myself very happy, indeed, to see you teaching children in my territory."

While the missionaries displayed so much disinterestedness and zeal in labouring among the children, they were not themselves exempted from the machinations of enemies.

The settlements at Bashia and Fantimania were established at a very critical period. The slave trade had just received a fatal blow; and had it not been for the gracious care of Providence over them, that blow would have been returned on the head of the missionaries, by the traders, who still remained in the country. Some of these unprincipled wretches spared neither pains nor time to enrage the Susoos and their chiefs against them; but happily they failed in the attempt. Indeed, it is a remarkable circumstance, that the missionaries, from their first residence in the country, found both their persons and their property as safe, or even safer, than in their native land, for here theft and murder were much more rare than in Europe. It was necessary, however, to maintain some degree of watchfulness, on account of the Foulahs, who sometimes break into the houses of White people, steal their goods, and even murder them if they can.*

In December 1812, Mr. Butscher, who had lately come on a visit to England, sailed again for Africa, on board the brig Charles, with eight other persons, several of whom were mechanics, and an investment of stores, amounting nearly to 3000*l.* with the view of forming a new settlement, which was to be called Gambier, on the Rio Dembia. Soon after they passed the island of Goree, and when they were flattering themselves with the hope of arriving in the Rio Pongas, in three or four days, the vessel struck upon a reef of the Tonqui rocks, about five miles from the shore, and twenty miles south of the river Gambia. Most of the passengers were then in bed, but they were soon roused by the violence of the shock. Every one hastened upon deck, some half naked, and others lightly dressed. It was then dark, and as the vessel beat violently upon the rocks, they expected every moment that she would go to pieces. When the morning dawned, however, they were happy to discover the land so near; but as they failed in all their attempts to bring her off the

* Proceedings of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, the Church Missionary Society, in three volumes.

reef, the captain, after some days, asked Mr. Butscher to proceed to Goree, with the view of procuring assistance from that island, and to bring, if possible, a vessel to save the cargo. He accordingly set off, together with his wife and several others of his companions, and on arriving at Goree, he procured a brig to go to the relief of the Charles. In the meanwhile, however, the captain and one of the passengers were killed in an affray with the natives; while the rest of those on board fled to Goree, in a small craft which had been assisting them; the vessel was then taken possession of by the natives, and they were now discharging the cargo. Thus the missionaries lost nearly all the property they were carrying with them; but they soon after found an opportunity of proceeding to the place of their destination. In the course of the voyage, two of the settlers died, one at Goree, and another just about an hour before they came to anchor in the Rio Pongas. Since that time the society have sent out an investment of property, to the amount of nearly 2000*l.* which with stores bought at Goree and at Sierra Leone, will, it is hoped, enable them soon to effect that extension of their plan, which was suspended by the shipwreck of Mr. Butscher and his companions. The Church Missionary Society will then have four settlements on the western coast of Africa, Bashia and Canoffee on the Rio Pongas, Yongroo, which has lately been begun by Mr. Nylander, on the Bullam shore, and Gambier on the Rio Dembia.*

* Missionary Register, vol. i. p. 149, 267, 302, 169, 360.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MISSIONS OF INFERIOR NOTE.

The Anglo-Americans.

THE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

THE Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, was instituted at Edinburgh in the year 1709. The chief design of this institution, was the extension of religion in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, by the erection of schools for the education of the young; but it likewise extended its views to the conversion of the Heathen. A few years after the formation of the society, the Rev. Dr. Williams, a dissenting clergyman in London, left them a legacy of a valuable estate in Huntingdonshire, for the express purpose of supporting missionaries in foreign and infidel countries; but owing to the inadequacy of their funds, it was some years before they were able to carry into effect this important part of their plan. An Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 1774, p. 5, 7.

In 1730, the society granted a commission to his excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq. governor of Massachusetts Bay, and to some other gentlemen of respectability in New-England, to be their correspondents in that quarter of the world, with power to them to choose persons qualified for the office of missionaries, and to appoint the particular places where they should labour. In consequence of this com-

mission, which was most readily accepted by his excellency governor Belcher, and by the other gentlemen mentioned in it, three persons were appointed by them, with a salary of 20*l.* sterling each, as missionaries to the Indians on the borders of New-England, namely, Mr. Joseph Secomb, at fort George on George's River, where the Penobscot Indians traded; Mr. Ebenezer Hensdale, at fort Dummer on Connecticut river; and Mr. Stephen Parker, at fort Richmond, both places of resort for the Indians. Upon an application from governor Belcher, the general court of the province of Massachusetts Bay voted 100*l.* a year of their currency, to be paid out of the public treasury to each of these missionaries, provided they should usually reside at the three places now mentioned, or at such other places as should be named by the general court, and there perform the duty of chaplains. These missionaries were maintained by the society till the year 1737, when they were dismissed on account of their want of success, and their declining to live among the Indians.

The trustees for the colony of Georgia having, in 1735, engaged a considerable number of people from the Highlands of Scotland to settle in that part of America, and being desirous that they should have a Presbyterian minister to preach to them in Gaelic, and to teach and catechise the children in English, applied to the society to grant a commission to such a minister, who should likewise act as one of their missionaries for Christianizing the Indians, and to allow him a salary for some years, until the colony should be able to maintain him solely at their own expence. The trustees further agreed to give to this missionary and to his successors, in perpetuity, 300 acres of land. The society accordingly granted a commission to Mr. John Macleod, a native of the Isle of Sky, with a salary of 50*l.* sterling. This mission was supported till 1740, when the greatest part of the inhabitants of Georgia having been cut off in an expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine, Mr. Macleod left the colony.

In 1741, the society established a board of correspondents at New-York, with the same powers and for the same purposes as that at Boston. This board appointed Mr. Azariah Horton to labour as a missionary on Long Island, a part of the province of New-York, with a salary of 40*l.* sterling, and named as his assistant and interpreter one Miranda, an

Indian, formerly a trader, but who had for some time laboured to instruct the Delaware and Susquehannah Indians.—Miranda died soon after his appointment; but Mr. Horton remained for several years on Long Island. An Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 13. On his arrival, he met with a very favourable reception from the Indians. Those who lived at the east end of the island, in particular, listened with great attention to his instructions, and many of them were brought to inquire, What they should do to be saved? A general reformation of manners quickly ensued among them; many of them were impressed with deep convictions of their sinfulness and misery; and there was even a number who gave satisfactory evidence of their saving conversion to Christ. In the course of two or three years, Mr. Horton baptized thirty-five adults and forty-four children. He also took pains to teach them to read, and some of them made considerable progress. But the extensiveness of his charge, and the necessity of his travelling from place to place, rendered it impossible for him to pay that regular attention to this important object, that was desirable.

Such was the promising aspect of this mission for some time; but it was not long before there appeared a melancholy declension among some of the Indians, in consequence of the introduction of spirituous liquors among them, and their being allured by this means into drunkenness, their darling vice. Some, too, grew careless and remiss in attending on divine worship; but still there were a number who retained their first serious impressions, and continued to breathe the temper of genuine Christians. Brainerd's Life, p. 547. Gillies' Historical Collections, vol. ii. p. 448. In 1750, the school at Mountack and Shemcock contained about sixty children, who made considerable progress in learning; and in general, the means of grace appeared to be blessed to the poor Indians. Bonar's Sermon before the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 49. But as this mission was not so extensively useful as was expected, it was given up in the beginning of 1753. Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 15. We are informed, however, that in 1788, the Indians in those places where Mr. Horton laboured were still religiously disposed, and that they had two preachers among them, both Indians, and well esteemed. A number of them were com-

municants, though how many we cannot say. American Correspondence, among the records of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, MS. vol. i. p. 166.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New-England, having resolved to send a missionary and a schoolmaster to the Cherokee Upper towns, provided the society in Scotland would send another missionary and schoolmaster to the same towns, the society allowed 60*l.* sterling a year for this purpose, and placed it under the management of certain persons in Carolina and Virginia. In consequence of this, Mr. Martin engaged in this mission in December 1757; and appearances being promising, Mr. Richardson was sent thither the following year; but as the Cherokees joined in hostilities with the French against the English, the mission was soon after relinquished.

In 1762, the board of correspondents at Boston sent three missionaries to Ohonoquagie, an Indian town on the banks of the river Susquehannah. They were received by the Indians with great cordiality; but as they were not so successful as was expected, they returned to Boston.

As ignorance of the Indian language had always been a powerful obstacle to the propagation of Christianity among the Indians, the board of correspondents at Boston adopted a plan for the education of English and Indian youths. Three Indians were put to school; but as many inconveniences, and particularly a great expence, was found to attend this scheme, it was given up. They then attempted to establish schools in the Indian settlements; but the Indians on the borders of New-England having commenced hostilities, this measure was attended with little effect.

In 1772, the society sent two missionaries and an interpreter to the Delaware Indians. On their arrival, many of the savages were attentive to them, and some were desirous of being instructed in the word of God. But these promising appearances quickly vanished; and the Indians ordered them to return to those who sent them.

The society also paid 40*l.* sterling towards the support of four missionaries, who were sent in 1773 to the Indian tribes in Canada.

In February 1774, a memorial was presented to the society, from the Rev. Dr. Ezra Styles, and the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, Rhode Island, in which they set forth

the following particulars: That two negroes in that place, named Bristol Yamma and John Quamine, were hopefully converted to Christianity some years before, and since that time had sustained a respectable character as Christians; that they were now about thirty years of age, possessed considerable natural abilities, and spoke their native language, the language of a numerous and powerful nation in Guinea; that they were very anxious to make some attempt for the propagation of the gospel among their ignorant brethren; that these various circumstances had induced several persons in Newport, Rhode Island, to set on foot a proposal of sending them on a mission to Africa; that in order to qualify them for this important office, it was necessary they should be put to school, and taught to read and write better than they were yet able to do, and that they should likewise be more fully instructed in divinity; that if, upon trial, they should be found to have made suitable improvement, and should be found qualified to act as missionaries, it was not doubted that money might be raised sufficient to carry the design into execution; that at present money was wanting for discharging a debt of fifty dollars, contracted by the latter of them when he purchased his freedom, and for supporting both of them at school. The memorialists, therefore, entreated all well-disposed persons to contribute to forward this plan for sending the gospel to the nations of Africa. The society, after considering this statement, unanimously approved of the proposal, and ordered a sum not exceeding 30*l.* sterling to be sent to the memorialists, and signified, at the same time, their willingness to contribute to the support of the intended mission, whenever it should be undertaken.—Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 15, 18.

In consequence of this donation of the Society, in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, together with some contributions from other quarters, the two Negroes were sent to New-Jersey College, under the care of Dr. Witherspoon; and from the following discovery, it was hoped, that when their education was completed; they would return to Africa, under circumstances of the most favourable nature. There was at Cape Coast Castle, on the shores of Guinea, about three or four leagues from Annamaboe, a Negro missionary, from the Society for Propagating the

Gospel in Foreign Parts, whose name was Philip Quaque. An account having been sent to him of the family of John Quamine, of the names and circumstances of his parents, and of the manner of his being carried away, he was desired to make inquiry about them, and if he found his father or mother, to tell them that their son was still alive, and that though he had been sold as a slave, he had now obtained his liberty, and proposed to return to them. Happily he was successful in finding out the friends of his countryman; the description which was sent to him corresponding completely with their names, situation, &c. His father was now dead, but his mother was still alive. Her joy, on hearing that her son was yet living, it is more easy to conceive than describe. She seemed, like Jacob of old, when he said, "It is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive; I shall see him before I die." All his relations earnestly desired that he might soon return to them, and promised that nothing should be wanting to render him happy. They at the same time expressed the warmest gratitude to those friends who had taken him under their care, and had shewn so much kindness to him.

Meanwhile, the two Negroes continued to prosecute their studies; and it was expected their education would soon be completed; but on the commencement of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country, there was a want of money for carrying on the design, and therefore they left the college, and entered into business for their own support, in the hope that they would at length find an opportunity of returning to their own country. But during the war, one of them died, and after the conclusion of peace, there was no way found of sending the other to Africa. American Correspondence among the Records of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, MS. vol. i. p. 35, 75, 95.

THE

CORPORATION

FOR THE

PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN NEW-ENGLAND.

IN May 1733, the Rev. Mr. Parks was sent by the commissioners of Indian affairs, to preach to the Narraganset Indians, about Westerly and Charlestown, in Rhode Island, and to such of the English as would attend on his instructions. After some years, the revival of religion, which was so remarkable in various parts of America, extended to this quarter, and was by no means confined to the White people. About the beginning of this visitation, some of the Indians appeared to be seriously impressed with the truth, and several of them seemed to be set up as monuments of divine grace. But the power of God began to be most remarkably displayed among them as a body, in February 1743, when a number of Christian Indians, from Stonington, a neighbouring town, came to visit their countrymen, at this place. From that time the greater part of them were impressed with a serious concern about their souls. They now relinquished their dances, and drunken frolics, and flocked more to the worship of God, than they were used to do to their amusements. Formerly there were not above ten or twelve of the Indians who came to the church at all; but now there were near a hundred who attended very regularly; many of whom afforded the most pleasing evidence of a change of heart. Within little more than a year, upwards of sixty of them were baptized, and admitted to the full communion of the church. In speaking of them, Mr. Parks says, "Considering the disadvantages they are under, by not being able to read, they may well be called experienced Christians, and are examples of faith, patience, love, humility, and every grace of the Holy Spirit. I have sometimes, been ashamed, and even confounded before God at myself, when I have been among them, and have heard their conversation, beheld their zeal, and fervent charity toward each other. They

are abundant in their endeavours to bring over such as oppose themselves, by setting before them the evil of their ways, and the comfort and sweetness of true religion. When they are assembled for divine worship, their hearts are often drawn out to plead with their brethren, so that with joy I have stood still to see the salvation of the Lord.

Their faith in God, encourages and quickens them in duty to obtain the promises of the good things of this life, as well as of that which is to come; so that there is a change among them in the outward no less than in the inward man. They grow more decent and cleanly in their dress, provide better for their households, and get clearer of debt.

The most of the Indians who are here in a body, are come into the kingdom of God; and the most of those that are without are hopefully convinced that God is in the others of a truth, and of the necessity of their being partakers of his grace. Indeed, the Lord seems to be extending the power of his grace to such as are scattered abroad."—Princes' Christian History, vol. i. p. 201; vol. ii. p. 22.

This revival of religion among the Narraganset Indians, does not appear to have been temporary. We suppose at least, it was to them that the Rev. Charles Beatty refers, in the following account which was written a few years before the commencement of the American war: "I have now in my hands," says he, "a catalogue containing the names of Indians belonging to the Narraganset tribes in New-England, in number about three hundred and fifteen. Mr. Samuel Drake, who has furnished the catalogue, and also written an account of them, and who has lived fourteen years among them as a schoolmaster, says, "He believes in the judgment of charity, that in the above number of Indians, there are seventy real Christians; that about sixty of them have entered into covenant with God, and one another, as a church of Christ, and are determined to follow the Lamb of God whithersover he goes; that they are also agreed in the articles of faith contained in the Apostles' Creed; that, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings, they constantly meet together, for singing and prayer; and that in their devotions, their affections seem to be surprisingly drawn out; that they are not fond of receiving any into church fellowship, but such as can give some good account of their being born again, renounce their Heathenish practices, subject themselves to the ordinance of baptism, and embrace the above

articles of faith; that they steadily maintain religious worship in their families; that, once in four weeks, they have a meeting on the Thursday, preparatory to the communion; that, on the Sabbath following, they celebrate the Lord's Supper; and that, at certain sacramental seasons, he has thought that the Lord Jesus seemed, as it were, to be evidently set forth crucified before them; that if at any time any of their brethren return to their former sinful practices, the rest will mourn over them as though their hearts would break; that, if their backsliding brethren repent of their sin, and manifest a desire again to walk with the church, their rejoicing is equal to their former mourning; but, that if no fruit of repentance appears, after they have mourned over them for several meetings, they bid the offender farewell, as if they were going to part to meet no more, and with such a mourning as resembles a funeral. I have been at several such meetings, and there has been such a lamentation in the assembly, when they were obliged to part with a brother, as a Heathen man, or publican, that even the sinner, who previously appeared perfectly obstinate, was so affected as to appear inwardly in pain for sin; and continued to cry to God for mercy, till he was delivered from his load of guilt, and admitted into fellowship with the church again." He adds, "That this religious concern began among these Indians twenty-six years since; that their pious minister is one of their own number, Mr. Samuel Niles; and that now many of their children are able to read the New Testament to their parents."

There are several other tribes of Indians in New-England, not far distant from this tribe, that have received the Christian religion; a number of whom, as I am credibly informed, in the judgment of charity, give evidence of their being real Christians, and have occasional communion with those of the Narraganset church, particularly about thirty or forty of the Mohegan Indians; about twenty of the Pequot tribe; six or seven of the Neantick tribe. Both these tribes live in the colony of Connecticut. There are also some of the Stonington tribe, that have occasionally communion with the Narraganset's, and about fifteen or sixteen of the Montawk tribe of Indians, who live upon the east end of Long Island, and for several years had the Rev. Mr. Horton to preach among them These sometimes cross the Sound, in order to join the above church in its divine ordinances."—Beatty's Journal of a two Months Tour. p. 54.

The state of religion among the Narraganset Indians, is not, however, at present so flourishing; though there is still the remains of a Christian church among them. In 1809 they were visited by the Rev. Mr. Coe, who has furnished us with the following particulars concerning them: "The whole number of Indians at Charlestown, considered as of the Narraganset tribe, is about one hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty souls. One half of this number may be under the age of twenty-five years, and may learn to read. By intemperance and inattention to business, they are all reduced to poverty, some to an extreme degree. They are subject to the general laws of the state of Rhode Island; but their internal affairs are under the direction of a council of five men of their own nation, and one White man, appointed by the state. By them lands are leased; provision made for the poor; and the persons belonging to the tribe ascertained. The quantity of their land is estimated at about three square miles; most of the valuable part of which is let out upon hire; a large portion is reserved for wood and timber; and a small part is in tillage. Very few pure-blooded Indians are now on the land, as they have for ages past been intermixing with Whites and Blacks. None are entitled to any part of the inheritance, except those who have descended from their females; hence a number of others, of mixed nations, live among them, who, by their customs, are not of the tribe.

"Their Christian church, composed of persons of different nations, consists of between forty and fifty members. They had a preacher of their own, John Segeter, who died about two years since. He could read, and was a man of some information. They still carry on worship on the Lord's day among themselves; and have the only place of worship now in the town. A school-house was formerly built by the Society in England for Propagating the Gospel, and a free-school was supported for their instruction, until the commencement of the revolutionary war, after which all provisions of that kind was discontinued; and their shool-house has lately been blown down. They are favourably disposed to the education of their children. When a school was kept three winters ago about two miles from them, fifteen Indian children went to it; and when they heard the White people talked of opening a school among them, they took a great interest in the subject, and made inquiries in

Newport, from time to time, respecting it. In consequence of this favourable report, measures have been taken for the establishment of a school among them; which, we hope, will be attended with beneficial effects.—Morse's Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, p. 56.

THE REV. SAMSON OCCOM.

The Rev. Samson Occom, one of the Mohegan tribe of Indians in Connecticut, was converted to Christianity, with many others of his countrymen, in 1741, when he was about seventeen years of age. He was the first who was educated at Dr. Wheelock's Indian school, and he was afterwards ordained to the ministry by a presbytery on Long Island, where he preached to a small number of Indians, who were once under the care of Mr. Horton. In 1761, a proposal having been made to him to engage in a mission to the Oneida Indians, who had of late expressed an earnest desire that a minister might settle among them, he agreed to go and make a trial. On his arrival among them, he met with a favourable reception from them; and in the course of the summer, he baptized five or six persons.—Account of some late Attempts to Christianize the North American Indians, 1763, p. 3.

In this situation, Mr. Occom appears to have continued till about 1766, when he came over to Britain along with the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, in order to make collections for the Indian Charity School, established by Dr. Wheelock at Lebanon, in Connecticut; and their mission, as will be seen in our account of that institution, was attended with singular and unprecedented success. He was, we suppose, the first and indeed the only Indian preacher, who ever visited the British isles.

After his return to America, he continued to labour as a missionary among the Indians, though, during the American war, it is probable, his operations would be materially interrupted, if not even entirely suspended. About 1778, he removed with the Indians under his care, from the neighbourhood of New-London, in Connecticut, to the Oneida country, where they were presented with a considerable tract of land by the Oneida Indians, and which was confirmed to them

by the state of New-York. Here they divided their lands, so that each individual holds his property as an estate in fee simple, with this restriction, that it shall never be sold to the White people. By this regulation, they have acquired a decided superiority over their brethren, the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, &c. American Correspondence among the Records of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, MSS. vol. i. p. 144. Collections of the Massachusett Historical Society, vol. iv. p. 68; vol. v. p. 26.

About the time that Mr. Occom removed with the Indians to the Oneida country, he preached a sermon at New-Haven, at the execution of Moses Paul, an Indian who had been guilty of murder. The text was, Rom. vi. 23. "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." As this discourse was afterwards published, we shall quote his concluding address to the criminal as a specimen of Indian eloquence:

"My poor unhappy brother, Moses,

"As it was your own desire, that I should preach to you this last discourse, so I shall speak plainly to you. You are bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. You are an Indian, a despised creature; but you have despised yourself; yea, you have despised God more; you have trodden under foot his authority; you have despised his commands and precepts. And now, as God says, 'Be sure your sins will find you out;' so now poor Moses, your sins have found you out, and they have overtaken you this day. The day of your death is now come; the king of terrors is at hand; you have but a very few moments to breath in this world. The just laws of man, and the holy law of Jehovah, call aloud for the destruction of your mortal life. God says, 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' This is the ancient decree of heaven, and it is to be executed by man; nor have you the least gleam of hope of escape, for the unalterable sentence is past; the terrible day of execution is come; the unwelcome guard is about you; and the fatal instruments of death are now made ready; your coffin and your grave, your last lodging, are open to receive you.

Alas! poor Moses, now you know, by sad, by woeful experience, the living truth of our text, that "the wages of sin is death." You have been already dead; yea, twice dead; by nature, spiritually dead; and since the awful sentence of death has been passed upon you, you have been dead to all the

pleasures of this life; or all the pleasures, lawful or unlawful, have been dead to you. And death, which is the wages of sin, is standing even on this side of your grave, ready to put a final period to your mortal life; and just beyond the grave, eternal death awaits your poor soul, and the devils are ready to drag your miserable soul down to their bottomless den, where everlasting woe and horror reign; the place is filled with doleful shrieks, howls, and groans of the damned. Oh! to what a miserable, forlorn, and wretched condition have your extravagant folly and wickedness brought you, that is if you die in your sins. And, O! what manner of repentance ought you to manifest! How ought your heart to bleed for what you have done! How ought you to prostrate your soul before a bleeding God, and under self-condemnation, cry out, "Ah Lord, Ah Lord, what have I done!" Whatever partiality, injustice, and error, there may be among the judges of the earth, remember that you have deserved a thousand deaths, and a thousand hells, by reason of your sins, at the hands of a holy God. Should God come out against you in strict justice, alas! what could you say for yourself. For you have been brought up under the bright sun-shine, and plain and loud sound of the gospel; and you have had a good education; you can read and write well; and God has given you a good natural understanding; and therefore your sins are so much more aggravated. You have not sinned in such an ignorant manner as others have done; but you have sinned with both your eyes open, as it were, under the light, even the glorious light of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. You have sinned against the light of your own conscience, against your knowledge and understanding; you have sinned against the pure and holy laws of God, and the just laws of men; you have sinned against heaven and earth; you have sinned against all the mercies and goodness of God; you have sinned against the whole Bible, against the Old and New Testament; you have sinned against the blood of Christ, which is the blood of the everlasting covenant. O poor Moses, see what you have done! and now repent, repent, I say again repent. See how the blood you shed cries against you, and the avenger of blood is at your heels. O fly, fly to the blood of the Lamb of God, for the pardon of all your aggravated sins.

But let us now turn to a more pleasant theme. Though you have been a great sinner, a heaven-daring sinner, yet

hark! O hear the joyful sound from heaven, even from the King of kings and Lord of lords; that "the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." It is a free gift, and bestowed on the greatest sinners; and upon their true repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, they shall be welcome to the life which we have spoken of. It is granted upon free terms: he that hath no money may come; he that hath no righteousness, no goodness may come: the call is to poor undone sinners; the call is not to the righteous, but sinners, inviting them to repentance. Hear the voice of the son of the Most High God, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." This is a call, a gracious call to you, poor Moses, under your present burdens and distresses. And Christ has a right to call sinners to himself. It would be presumption for a mighty angel to call a poor sinner to himself; and were it possible for you to apply to all God's creatures, they would with one voice tell you, that it was not in them to help you. Go to all the means of grace, they would prove miserable helps without Christ himself. Yea, apply to all the ministers of the gospel in the world, they would all say, that it was not in them, but would only prove as indexes, to point out to you the Lord Jesus, the only Saviour of sinners of mankind. Yea, go to all the angels in heaven, they would do the same. Yea, go to God the Father himself, without Christ, he would not help you. To speak after the manner of men, he would also point to the Lord Jesus Christ, and say, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him." Thus, you see, poor Moses, that there is none in heaven, or on the earth, that can help you, but Christ: he alone has power to save and to give you life. God the Father appointed him, chose him, authorised and fully commissioned him to save sinners. He came down from heaven into this lower world, and became as one of us, and stood in our room. He was the second Adam. And as God demanded perfect obedience of the first Adam, the second fulfilled it; and as the first sinned and incurred the wrath and anger of God, the second endured it; he suffered in our room. As he became sin for us, he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; all our stripes were laid upon him. Yea, he was finally condemned, because we were under condemnation; and at last was executed and put to death for our sins; was lifted up between the heaven and the earth, and was

crucified on the accursed tree: his blessed hands and feet were fastened there;—there he died a shameful and ignominious death; there he finished the great work of our redemption; there his heart's blood was shed for our cleansing; there he fully satisfied the divine justice of God, for penitent believing sinners, though they have been the chief of sinners. O Moses, this is good news to you, in this last day of your life. Behold a crucified Saviour; his blessed hands are outstretched all in a gore of blood. This is the only Saviour, an Almighty Saviour, just such as you stand in infinite and perishing need of. O, poor Moses, hear the dying prayer of a gracious Saviour on the accursed tree, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." This was a prayer for his enemies and murderers; and it is for all who repent and believe in him. O why will you die eternally, poor Moses, since Christ has died for sinners? Why will you go to hell beneath the bleeding Saviour, as it were? This is the day of your execution, yet it is the accepted time, it is the day of salvation, if you now believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Must Christ follow you into the prison by his servants, and there intreat you to accept of eternal life; and will you refuse it? And must he follow you even to the gallows, and there beseech you to accept of him, and will you refuse him? Shall he be crucified hard by your gallows, as it were, and will you regard him not? O, poor Moses, believe on the Lord Jesus Christ with all your heart, and thou shalt be saved eternally. Come just as you are, with all your sins and abominations, with all your blood guiltiness, will all your condemnation, and lay hold of the hope set before you this day. This is the last day of salvation with your soul; you will be beyond the bounds of mercy in a few minutes more. O, what a joyful day will it be, if you now openly believe in, and receive the Lord Jesus Christ; it would be the beginning of heavenly days with your poor soul; instead of a melancholy day, it would be a wedding-day to your soul: it would cause the very angels of heaven to rejoice, and the saints on earth to be glad; it would cause the angels to come down from the realms above, and wait hovering about your gallows, ready to convey your soul to the heavenly mansions, there to take the possession of eternal glory and happiness, and join the heavenly choirs in singing the song of Moses and the Lamb; there to sit down forever with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God's glory; and your

shame and guilt shall be forever banished from the place, and all sorrow and fear forever fly away, and tears be wiped from your face; and there shall you forever admire the astonishing, and amazing, and infinite mercy of God in Christ Jesus, in pardoning such a monstrous sinner, as you have been; there you will claim the highest note of praise, for the riches of free grace in Christ Jesus. But if you will not accept of a Saviour proposed to your acceptance in this last day of your life, you must this very day bid farewell to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to heaven, and all the saints and angels that are there; and you must bid all the saints in this lower world an eternal farewell, and even to the whole world. And so I must leave you in the hands of God."—A Sermon at the execution of Moses Paul, an Indian: By Samson Occom, 1788, p. 16.

Mr. Occom lived several years after this, but it appears that he was dead in 1796, when the Rev. Drs. Morse and Belknap visited the Oneida country. The Indians who had been under his care lived at a place called Brothertown, and were 150 in number. They were all professed Christians, but they were then without a pastor.—Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 13.

According to very recent accounts, the Brothertown tribe consists of 302 persons. They possess a track of land consisting of 9390 acres, divided into lots of from fifty to a hundred acres each, of which about two thousand are improved. The produce of their land the last season (we suppose 1812,) amounted to about 2870 bushels of wheat, 5690 bushels of Indian corn, 700 bushels of rye, 1860 bushels of oats, 90 bushels of pease, 3450 bushels of potatoes, and about 290 tons of hay: but about one half of this produce was raised on shares by White people. The stock in this tribe consists of 90 milch cows, 30 horses, 16 yoke of oxen, 93 young cattle, 88 sheep, and a great number of swine. They have 16 framed houses, and 18 framed barns, one grist-mill belonging to the tribe, and two saw-mills belonging to individuals. Their implements of husbandry consist of 21 ploughs, 17 sleds, 3 carts, and 3 waggons. Their mechanics are 4 carpenters, 2 blacksmiths, 4 shoe-makers, tailors, and 5 weavers. Their manufactures last year (we suppose 1812) amounted to about 320 yards of woollen cloth, and 00 yards of linen. They have 5 looms, and are generally supplied with wool and flax spinning-wheels, axes, hoes, scythes, &c.

It is a melancholy fact, however, that within the short distance of seven or eight miles, there are no less than nine stills, which consume annually about 30,000 bushels of grain, and produce about 90,000 gallons of spirits. A Summary Account of the Measures pursued by the yearly Meeting of Friends of New-York for the Civilization of the Indians, p. 13, 19.

By the same account, it appears that the Stockbridge tribe (see vol. i. c. iv. sec. iv.) now consists of 475 persons. They possess six square miles of land, except 1800 acres, which are let on lease. About 1200 acres are improved, on which they have 2 saw-mills, 1 grist-mill, 8 framed houses, and 7 framed barns. The remainder of their buildings, as in the other tribes, are of logs and bark. They raised in the year 1811, about 500 bushels of wheat, 2000 bushels Indian corn, and plenty of potatoes, beans and other vegetables. They have 26 horses, 20 pair of oxen, 5[illegible] milch cows, 44 young cattle, 56 sheep, and about 50 swine.—Ibid. p. 14.

The Pagan party of the Oneida tribe, whom the Quakers have taken under their care, consists of 440 persons in fifty-one families. They possess 19,000 acres of land of which 500 are improved. They raise about 1200 bushels of wheat, and 1840 bushels of Indian corn. Their stock consists of 25 horses, 24 oxen, 33 milch cows, 118 young cattle, 40 sheep, and 100 swine. There are in the settlement 6 framed houses, 6 framed barns, and 1 saw-mill. They have 2 waggons and 10 ploughs. Ibid. p. 14.

The Onondago tribe consists of about 250 persons. They possess 12,000 acres of land, of which between five and six hundred are improved. They raised the last season (we suppose 1812) 450 bushels of wheat, and 1400 bushels of Indian corn, besides considerable quantities of different kinds of vegetables. Their stock consists of 6 pair of oxen, 10 milch cows, and some young cattle; and their implements of husbandry of a few ploughs, harrows, &c.—Ibid. p. 14.

Each of the tribes receives a small annuity from the government, arising from a sale of part of their lands.—Ibid. p. 15.

THE REV. SAMUEL DAVIES.

In 1747, the Rev. Samuel Davies, who was afterwards president of New-Jersey college, began to preach at Hanover

and the neighbouring parts of Virginia. Besides labouring with great success among the White people, he was the happy instrument of bringing many of the Negro slaves to the knowledge of the gospel. In a letter writen in 1755 to a gentleman who was a member of the Society in London for promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, he gives the following pleasing account of the appearances of religion among them. "The inhabitants of Virginia are computed to be about 300,000 men, the one half of which number are supposed to be Negroes. The number of those who attend my ministry at particular times is uncertain, but generally about 300, who give a stated attendance; and never have I been so struck with the appearance of an assembly, as when I have glanced my eye to that part of the meeting-house where they usually sit, *adorned*, for so it has appeared to me, with so many black countenances eagerly attentive to every word they hear, and frequently bathed in tears. A considerable number of them (about an hundred) have been baptized, after a proper time for instruction, and having given credible evidences, not only of their acquaintance with the important doctrines of the Christian religion, but also a deep sense of them upon their minds, attested by a life of strict piety and holiness. As they are not sufficiently polished to dissemble with a good grace, they express the sentiments of their souls so much in the language of simple nature, and with such genuine indications of sincerity, that it is impossible to suspect their professions, especially when attended with a truly Christian life and exemplary conduct.—My worthy friend Mr. Tod, minister of the next congregation, has near the same number under his instructions, who, he tells me, discover the same serious turn of mind. In short, sir, there are multitudes of them, in different places, who are willing and eagerly desirous to be instructed, and embrace every opportunity of acquainting themselves with the doctrines of the gospel, and though they have generally very little help to learn to read, yet to my agreeable surprise, many of them, by the dint of application in their leisure hours, have made such a progress, that they can read a plain author intelligibly, and especially their Bibles, and pity it is that any of them should be without them. Some of them have the misfortune to have irreligious masters,, and hardly any of them are so happy as to be furnished with these assistances for their improvement. Before I had the pleasure

of being admitted a member of your society, they were wont frequently to come to me with such moving accounts of their necessities in this respect, that I could not help supplying them with books to the utmost of my small abilities; and when I distributed those amongst them which my friends, with you, sent over, I had reason to think that I never did an action in all my life that met with so much gratitude from the receivers. I have already distributed all the books that I brought over, which were proper for them. Yet still on Saturday evenings, the only time they can spare, my house is crowded with numbers of them, whose very countenances still carry the air of importunate petitioners for the same favours with those who came before them. But, alas! my stock is exhausted, and I must send them away grieved and disappointed.—Permit me, sir, to be an advocate with you, and by your means, with your generous friends, in their behalf. The books I principally want for them are Watts' Psalms and Hymns, and Bibles. The two first they cannot be supplied with any other way than by a collection, as they are not among the books which your society give away. I am the rather importunate for a good number of these, as I cannot but observe that the Negroes, above all the human species that I ever knew, have an ear for music, and a kind of ecstatic delight in psalmody; and there are no books they learn so soon, or take so much pleasure in, as those used in that heavenly part of divine worship. Some gentlemen in London were pleased to make me a private present of these books for their use; and from the reception they met with, and their eagerness for more, I can easily foresee how acceptable and useful a larger number would be among them. Indeed, nothing would be a greater inducement to their industry to learn to read, than the hope of such a present, which they would consider both as a help and a reward for their diligence."

Having obtained a further supply of books from London for the Negroes, Mr. Davies, in a letter to the same gentleman, gives the following account of the manner in which they were received by them. "For some time after the books arrived, the poor slaves, whenever they could get an hour's leisure from their masters, would hurry away to my house, to receive the charity with all the genuine indications of passionate gratitude, which unpolished nature could give, and which affectation and grimace would mimick in vain.

The books were all very acceptable, but none more so than the Psalms and Hymns, which enable them to gratify their peculiar taste for psalmody. Sundry of them have lodged all night in my kitchen, and sometimes when I have awaked about two or three o'clock in the morning, a torrent of sacred harmony poured into my chamber, and carried my mind away to heaven. In this seraphic exercise, some of them spend almost the whole night. I wish, sir, you and their other benefactors could hear any of these sacred concerts. I am persuaded it would surprise and please you more than an Oratorio, or a St. Cecilia's day." Mr. Davies afterwards adds, that two Sabbaths before, he had the pleasure of seeing forty of them around the table of the Lord, all of whom made a credible profession of Christianity, and several of them with unusual evidence of sincerity; and that he believed there were more than a thousand Negroes, who attended upon his ministry at the different places where he alternately officiated.—Gilles' Historical Collections, vol. i. p. 334; Appendix to the Historical Collections, p. 29, 37, 40, 42.

THE NEW-YORK MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

In 1800, the New-York Missionary Society sent the Rev. E. Holmes on an exploratory mission to some of the north-western tribes of Indians.

Having arrived among the Tuscaroras, near the falls of Niagara, he met with a very friendly reception from them. Before he left them, several of their sachems and warriors addressed a letter to the New-York Missionary Society, in which they implore their assistance and compassion in the following affecting strains: "Fathers and brothers, we should be very glad to have our father Holmes to live among us, or any other good man that you would send, to teach us the meaning of the beloved speech in the good book called the Bible; for we are in darkness; we are very ignorant; we are poor. Now, fathers and brothers, you have much light; you are wise and rich. Only two of our nation can read in the good book the Bible: we wish our children to learn to read, that they may be civilized and happy when we are gone, that they may understand the good speech better than we can. We feel much sorrow for our children. We ask you, fathers and brothers, will you not pity us and our poor

children, and send a school-master to teach our children to read and write? If you will, we will rejoice, we will love him, we will do all we can to make him happy."

After noticing the opposition which some of the Indians had shewn to such benevolent attempts of the White people, and the abandonment of the scheme in consequence of this, they add, "We are sorry Indians have done so; we are afraid some of us shall do so too; and that the Great Spirit will be angry with us; and you being discouraged, will stop and say, "Let them alone; there is nothing to be done with Indians."

Fathers and brothers, hearken. We cry to you from the wilderness; our hearts ache, while we speak to your ears. If such wicked thiugs should be done by any of us, we pray you not to be discouraged; don't stop, Think, poor Indians must die, as well as White men. We pray you, therefore, never to give over, and leave poor Indians; but follow them in dark times; and let our children always find you to be their fathers and friends when we are dead and no more." This expostulatory letter was signed by two sachems, and seven warrior chiefs.

On taking leave of the Tuscarora Indians, Mr. Holmes proceeded on his journey, and visited the Senecas, who resided at Buffaloe Creek. From them, however, he did not meet with a reception equally favourable. After he had, at their request, preached a sermon to them, the chiefs held a consultation, on the subject of the mission; upon which Red Jacket, the second sachem, a cunning artful man, rose and delivered a speech, in which, among other things, he said, "Father, we thank the Great Good Spirit above, for what you have spoken to us at this time, and hope he will always incline your heart, and strengthen you to this good work. We have clearly understood you, and this is all truth that you have said to us.

Father, we Indians are astonished at you Whites, that when Jesus Christ was among you, and went about doing good, speaking the good word, healing the sick, and casting out evil spirits, that you White people did not pay attention to him, and believe in him; and that you put him to death, when you had the good book in your possession.

Father, we Indians were not near to this transaction, nor could we be guilty of it.

Father, you do not come like those that have come with a bundle under their arms, or something in their hands; but we have always found something of deceit under it, for they are always aiming at our lands. But you have not come like one of these; you have come like a father and a true friend, to advise us for our good. We expect that the bright chain of friendship shall always exist between us; we will do every thing in our power to keep that chain bright, from time to time.

Father, you and your good society well know, that when learning was first introduced among Indians, they became small; and two or three nations have become extinct; and we know not what has become of them. It was also introduced among our eldest brothers the Mohawks, and we immediately observed that their seats began to be small; this was likewise the case with our brothers the Oneidas. Let us look back to the situation of our nephews the Mohegans; they were totally routed out from their seats. This is the reason why we think learning would be of no service to us.

Father, we are astonished that the White people, who have the good book called the Bible among them, that tells them the mind and will of the Great Spirit, and they can read it, and understand it, that they are so bad, and do so many wicked things, and that they are no better.

Father, If learning should be introduced among us, at present, more intrigue or craft might creep in among us. It might be the means of our suffering the same misfortunes as our brothers. Our seat is now but small; and if we were to leave this place, we should not know where to find another. We do not think we should be able to find a seat amongst our Western brothers."

But though Red Jacket's speech was of so unfavourable a nature, yet Farmer's brother, the chief sachem of the Senecas, offered to commit his grandson to the care of the New-York Missionary Society in order to be educated by them, in the hope he might afterwards be useful to his nation. This proof of confidence was the more extraordinary, as one of his grandsons whom he had committed to the care of the United States, had, instead of being advanced in useful knowledge, been totally ruined in respect of his morals; a circumstance which he depicted in strong and lively colours. Report of the New-York Missionary Society for 1801, annexed to Abeel's Sermon, p. 46.

After Mr. Holmes' return to New-York, his report being of so encouraging a nature, he was appointed as a missionary to the North Western Indians, particularly the Tuscaroras and the Senecas, near the falls of Niagara. In August 1801, he accordingly returned to settle among them, and from the former he again met with the most favourable reception. They not only thankfully listened to his instructions, but expressed a desire that the whole of their nation, scattered through other parts of the country, might be collected together to that place, that they might be instructed in the gospel of Christ; and, indeed, Mr. Holmes was not without hope, that a number of them had been brought to the saving knowledge of divine truth. The legislature of the state of New-York having appropriated a sum of money for the building of a church and school-house, they were accordingly erected, and found highly convenient for the purposes of the mission.

From the Senecas, Mr. Holmes' reception was of a less favourable nature. By secret artifice and open calumny, the Indian impostor called the prophet of the Alleghany, had excited so formidable an opposition to him, that the sachems and chiefs referred the question to the warriors, whether he should be allowed to preach or not; and the warriors, in their turn, agreed to refer it to the prophet. Happily, however, this manœuvre was defeated, through the zeal and intrepidity of Mr. Holmes. In full council, he delivered his message with distinguished fervour and fidelity, setting before them, on the one hand, the rich mercies of God in Jesus Christ; and, on the other, the fearful judgments which they would incur, by their unbelief. This boldness appeared to produce the happiest effects. The progress of the delusion was arrested, and the prophet began to lose his credit. To this a quarrel between that impostor and a woman whom they call a prophetess, contributed. She pretended to have been caught up into the third heavens, but the prophet refused to acknowledge her, and the contest put them both to shame. After some further consultation, the Indians returned Mr. Holmes the following answer: "We have taken time to deliberate. We have been embarrassed with doubts. We thought not proper to proceed hastily, lest not having thoroughly weighed the proposal, we should do wrong, and have reason hereafter to repent of it." They then proceeded to express their willingness to listen to the gospel; and to

desire that a school might be established among them. Indeed, Mr. Holmes enjoyed full tranquillity among them; and the mission appeared to be more firmly established than ever.—Report of the New-York Missionary Society for 1803, in Religious Monitor, vol. i. p. 228. See also Missionary Magazine, vol. vii. p. 384, 429.

In December 1803, Longboard, one of their chief warriors, passed through the city of New-York, on his return from Washington, whither he had gone to transact some business relative to the collection and civilization of his people. The directors of the Society had a most agreeable interview with him, in the course of which he declared the resolution of the sachems, and of the rest of the nation, to maintain inviolable their friendship with the Missionary Society, and their attachment to the gospel, notwithstanding all the difficulties that might arise, and the machinations of their enemies. He promised to communicate an account of this interview to his nation; requested the prayers of the society for his safe journey home; begged them to sympathize with his weakness and ignorance, as it was but a short time since he had heard the voice of the Lord; and declared his hope, that, in the course of a few years, the whole of his nation would embrace the gospel.

But notwithstanding these warm professions of friendship, Longboard, on his return home, became the advocate of those impostors who possess so much influence over the credulous Indians, and the violent enemy of the mission. Conferences and councils were held with great solemnity, to decide on the question, Whether they should give any further heed to the gospel, or revert to the religion of their forefathers? Longboard exerted his eloquence, his influence, and his address, in favour of their old superstition; and when he saw his cause, after open and full discussion, losing ground among the men, he very dexterously resolved to have the question referred to the judgment of the women. But even this expedient failed. With a modesty and magnanimity which he had not anticipated, they declined giving any opinion on the merits of the case; but reprobated a breach of their agreement with the Missionary Society. At the same time, the providence of God so ordered, that a young Indian, who had received some education, and learned a trade at Albany, was present at this council. His candid and manly testimony to the truth of the gospel, to the

purity of the views with which the mission was instituted, to the folly of the dreamers, and the danger of adhering to them, produced a powerful effect; and the whole dispute terminated in the triumph of truth, and the shame of its opposers.—Report of the New-York Missionary Society 1804, annexed to Livingston's Sermon, p. 80.

Since that time, say the directors in their report, April 1805, every thing has been tranquil and prosperous. The happy influence of Christianity is now conspicuous in the change of several of their most offensive habits. Their savage dances and frolics are discontinued; once when an attempt was made by some of the nation to engage in an idolatrous feast, a sufficient number could not be collected to carry the plan into execution. They have renounced the use of ardent spirits, and their resolution has now stood the test of more than two years probation. They observe the Lord's day, and are regular and respectful in their attendance upon divine worship; even during their last hunting excursion, they abstained from their employment on the Sabbath. A number of their youth attended the school, and their proficiency promises to be of the highest utility. They are much attached to singing; and it is now far easier to assemble their young men for a lesson in psalmody, than for the purposes of dissipation. Among the many proofs of meliorated society among the Tuscaroras, it ought not to be omitted, that the loose connection of the sexes is growing into disrepute and the marriage contract rising into esteem. Old Sachiressa, their venerable sachem, began. He came forward with his partner, with whom he had lived a long series of years, and insisted on being joined to her in presence of the congregation, by a Christian marriage. It was the first instance that had ever occurred in the nation, and a more interesting scene, Mr. Holmes declares, he never witnessed. His example has since been followed by others; and there is a rational prospect, that in a short time their conjugal relations will be as regular and sacred as in Christian countries. Sachiressa has never relaxed in his exertions for promoting the spiritual interests of his people. His public exhortations, his private visits, his example, his entreaties, his tears, have been employed with a vigilance, a perseverence, and a zeal, as might put thousands in the Christian world to shame. Indeed, so sensible are they of the importance of the gospel, that, besides attempting to collect the

fragments of their own nation to share in its blessings, they have recently sent a deputation to some of the inferior tribes, with the view of spreading the word of life, and urging on their brethren the duty and necessity of embracing it—Report of the New-York Missionary Society, 1805, p. 4.

Mr. Holmes' connection with the New-York Missionary Society was, after some time, dissolved; and he was succeeded in his labours among the Tuscarora Indians by Mr. Andrew Gray. Sometimes very interesting scenes were exhibited among them. One day Mr. Gray preached from these words: "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." This discourse appeared to make a deep impression on the mind of the principal sachem, who immediately on the close of the service arose and addressed his countrymen in a long harangue. Whilst he was thus engaged, Mr. Gray descended from the pulpit, and took a seat among the hearers. For a considerable time the chief seemed very earnest. At last his voice faultered, he sighed deeply, resumed his seat, leaned his face on the head of his cane, and the tears rolled in streams down his cheeks. Mr. Gray enquired the cause, and was informed by Cusick his interpreter, that in his speech he represented to his countrymen the great benefits which he himself had derived from believing in Christ, exhorted them to open their hearts and receive the same privileges, and mourned over their stupidity and obstinacy. Another instance of a similar kind happened still more lately. Paulus, a professor of Christianity, undertook, one Sabbath morning before divine service, as he often does, to address his friends on much the same topics. After continuing his talk a considerable time, he began to mourn and weep over the hardness and unbelief of his countrymen. His distress he exhibited in a singular manner, by his voice, his gestures, and his shedding of tears.—Evan. Mag. vol. xvii. p. 478; vol. xviii. p. 368.

With the view of educating the Indian youth in the English language, a young man was sent to the Tuscarora village to establish a school among them. Evan. Mag. vol. xviii. p. 368. The Lancastrian system of tuition was attempted; but as it was not successful, recourse was had to the common mode of instruction. In 1810, the school was attended by twenty-four children, of whom eighteen were Indians,

the remaining six Whites.—Report of the New-York Missionary Society, 1810, *in* Panoplist, vol. ii. p. 572.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1803, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, sent the Rev. Mr. Blackburn on a mission to the Cherokee Indians. Agreeably to his instructions, he embraced an early opportunity of instituting a school on the Highwassee river for the education of their children; and it was not long before it became necessary to begin a second school in the lower district of the nation. In 1806, there were in the two schools seventy five scholars, whose progress in reading, writing, and arithmetic, exceeded the most sanguine expectations that were formed of them. Panoplist, vol. i. p. 138. The indians in general, indeed, made no inconsiderable improvement in many of the common and most useful arts of life. They assumed to a great extent, not only the habits, but even the form of government of a civilized nation. At a kind of national meeting, they formed a constitution, chose a legislative body, and passed a number of laws, among which was an act imposing taxes for public purposes. Religious Monitor, vol. vii. p. 329. In a letter from the Rev. Mr. Blackburn, dated January 5, 1810, we have the following interesting account of the progress of the Cherokee Indians towards a state of civilization.

"In the nation there are 12,395 Indians. The number of females exceeds the males by 200. The Whites in the nation are 341. Of these are 113 who have Indian wives. Of Negro slaves there are 583. The number of their cattle is 19,500; of their horses 6,100; of their hogs 19,600; of their sheep 1,057.

They have now in actual operation 13 grist-mills; 3 saw-mills; 3 salt-petre works, and 1 powder-mill. They have 30 waggons; between 480 and 500 ploughs; 1600 spinning-wheels; 467 looms, and 49 silversmiths.

Circulating specie is supposed to be as plenty among them as is common among the White people. Most of these advantages they have acquired since the year 1796, and particularly since 1803.

If we deduct from the year the number of Sabbaths, and suppose that each spinning-wheel turns off six cuts a day, the produce of 1600 will be 250,400 dozen of yarn in one year; and this, when manufactured into cloth, will make 292,133 yards.

If we should suppose each loom to put off four yards a day, the produce of 467 will in a year amount to 584,684 yards.

Allow two hands to a wheel, 3,200 women will be employed in carding and spinning, 467 engaged in weaving, and as many to fill the quills.

If each plough be employed on only 10 acres, then 500 ploughs would cultivate 5000 acres, and would employ 1000 hands, as one must use the hoe after the plough. There is also nearly as much land in the nation wrought without a plough as with it; each acre will produce 50 bushels, which will be equal to 250,000, or 20 bushels to each person. The actual amount will double that sum.

The number of Bibles and Testaments circulated in the nation, including the children of the schools, is upwards of 600, besides a variety of other books.

On their roads they have many public houses, and on their rivers convenient ferries. There are many of them learning different trades, according to their particular inclinations. But as yet there is no church erected among them, and few of them appear to feel the impression of religion on their hearts."—Panoplist, vol. ii. p. 474.

We are sorry, however, to learn, that Mr. Blackburn's mission among the Cherokees is now at an end. He had so injured his health, and indeed broken his constitution, by his unwearied exertions, that he was compelled to resign his appointment as a missionary. It is pleasing, however, to learn, that a number of the Cherokee Indians have been so well instructed by him, that they are now able to teach schools themselves, and it was expected that they would engage in this important work.—Evan. Mag. vol. xx. p. 437.

THE WESTERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN April 1805, the Rev. James Hughes was sent by the Western Missionary Society on a mission to the Wyandot Indians about Sandusky and the neighbouring country, to the west of lake Erie. On arriving among them, he found

them much divided on the subject of religion; some were for giving up religion altogether; some were for worshipping according to the modes of their forefathers; but the greater part were willing to hear the gospel. During his short mission of two months, Mr. Hughes visited the Indians belonging to various towns in that part of the country, and in general he met with a very favourable reception among them. They heard his discourses with great attention, and some of them expressed the highest satisfaction with what he taught them, particularly one of the chiefs.—Religious Monitor, vol. iv. p. 38, 75.

After fulfilling the period of his mission, Mr. Hughes, was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Badger, and he was afterwards followed by another minister. Each of them spent two months or more among the Indians, and both of them met with a very favourable reception from them. The poor savages expressed a strong desire to have the gospel preached to them, a school for the education of their children established, and the arts of civilization introduced among them.

Encouraged by these circumstances, the Western Missionary Society sent the Rev. Mr. Badger to settle as a missionary among them, and likewise three other persons as labourers, one of whom was to be eventually employed as a schoolmaster. With the view of introducing among them the arts of life, they also purchased for their use some live stock, household furniture, implements of husbandry, a boat, and other useful articles.—Religious Monitor, vol. iv. p. 33, 75.

The Rev. Mr. Badger was still labouring as a missionary among the Wyandot Indians at Upper Sandusky, in 1809. At that time there were in the school 15 scholars, who were making considerable progress in learning to speak English, for which they enjoyed great advantages, as some of the children of the interpreter, and some others in the school could speak both the English and Wyandot languages very well: The mission, however, had suffered a severe trial, from the unfriendly offices of the rum traders, and from the influence of the celebrated Seneca prophet, Cornplanter's brother. Panoplist, vol. ii. p. 184. We are happy to understand, by still later accounts, that the mission among the Indians about Sandusky has assumed a very favourable aspect, so far as the interests of religion are concerned. Several of the Indians appeared to be under serious impressions

of religion, and of the chiefs seemed particularly pious. Evan. Mag. vol. xx. p. 437.

To this account of the operations of the Anglo-Americans in propagating the gospel among the Heathen, we shall add a list of the Missionary Societies which have been established in the United States; though it is proper to remark, that the operations of most of them have been chiefly among the White people in the new settlements.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, instituted at Boston in 1787.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States have, since 1789, made annual collections in their churches for sending the gospel to the dark parts of the country. The assembly managed this business until 1802, when they chose a standing committee of missions.

In 1792, the Episcopal Church, or General Convention, resolved to collect a fund for missionary purposes, and have made some efforts to send the gospel to the frontier settlements. In a subsequent general convention, the business was left to the convention of each state, in consequence of which the Episcopal Church in the state of New-York have established a Missionary Society.

The New-York Missionary Society, instituted 1796.

The Northern Missionary Society, in the state of New-York, instituted 1797.

The Connecticut Missionary Society, instituted 1798.

The Massachusetts Missionary Society, instituted 1799.

The Hampshire Missionary Society, in Massachusetts, instituted 1800.

The New-Jersey Missionary Society, instituted 1801.

The Baptist Missionary Society, Massachusetts, instituted 1802.

The Western Missionary Society, consisting of the synod of Pittsburg, which is a branch of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, instituted 1802.

The Piscataway Missionary Society, New Hampshire, instituted 1804.

The St. Louis Missionary Society in Upper Louisiana.

The Society for Foreign Missions, instituted at Philadelphia. Livingston's Sermon before the New-York Mission-

ary Society, p. 47; Period. Accounts relative to the United Brethren, vol. v. p. 47; Evan. Mag. vol. xx. p. 285.

THE DANES.

LAPLAND.

IN 1716, two missionaries, Kiel Stub and Jens Bloch, were sent to that part of Lapland called Finmark, under the auspices of his majesty Frederick the IVth, king of Denmark, whose reign was distinguished by giving birth to the missions both to India and Greenland. This undertaking continued to be supported by his successors, and other missionaries were sent from time to time to instruct the poor ignorant Laplanders in the principles of religion.

In the winter season, the missionaries travel among the mountains in sledges, drawn by reindeer, from the habitation of one Laplander to that of another, sometimes spending a whole week with the same family. During his stay with them, he daily catechises them concerning the principles of religion; and on festival days, the whole of the inhabitants of that district assemble together, and then, besides catechising them, he delivers a sermon to them. On these occasions, he not unfrequently finds it necessary to perform divine worship under the canopy of heaven, upon the deep snows, and amidst a cold almost intolerable. In the summer season, the missionaries go in boats from one part of the sea coast to another, instructing the inhabitants in a similar manner. To assist them in these labours, there are schoolmasters whose duty it is to teach the young people the art of reading, and the first principles of religion.

We fear, however, that Christianity, as yet, has made but little progress in Finmark. This conclusion we are led to draw from many of those very circumstances which Leemius, who was a missionary for a number of years among the Laplanders, has mentioned, to show the flourishing state of religion in that country. In the district where he laboured, he informs us there were not a few who could repeat the whole of the catechism, a small part of the history of Christ's passion, with some of the Psalms of David, both in the Norwegian and Lapponese languages. There was one person who

could repeat thirty-six psalms by rote; and he mentions, as a singular circumstance, a man more than seventy years of age, who had committed to memory the three first parts of the catechism, though he had never learned to read. It appears, however, that the missionaries did not all learn the Lapponese language; a circumstance which must have materially obstructed the success of their labours, as many of the Laplanders, particularly the women, did not understand a word of the Norwegian tongue.

According too Leemius, the Laplanders have not only made great progress in Christian knowledge, but they manifest the highest respect for the ordinances of religion; for although public worship on the Sabbath seldom occupies less than three hours, yet they will sit bareheaded in the hut amidst the severest cold, manifesting the greatest attention and devotion.

The Laplanders hold the missionaries in high estimation, and treat them with the greatest respect. They give them the appellation of father, and always afford them the best accommodation in their power. They provide them with the greatest dainties they have, as frozen reindeer milk, the flesh, the tongue, and the marrow of that animal.

Most of the Laplanders, even though they should be on a journey, are careful not to neglect the usual prayers, which they offer up with great devotion both morning and evening. Some of them also, at their private devotions, instruct their children, and the rest of the family, in the catechism. But they are not content with simply learning the word of God; they are careful to manifest its power and influence, by a life worthy of the gospel. Hence it is, that you hear no oaths or imprecations among them, though these are so common in most other countries. The Sabbath day they rarely profane. They are of a meek and very peaceful disposition, so that they very seldom fall into quarrels, or proceed to blows. In their manners they are exceedingly chaste, and theft is a crime little known among them.

The Laplanders, however, like all other human beings, have their vices, but these he says are few and rare. Among these, we may particularly mention drunkenness, to which some of them are addicted, and fraudulence in their dealings, when they can find a convenient opportunity. Leemii Commentatio de Lappionibus Finmarchiæ, p. 507, 61.

THE UNITED BRETHREN.

LAPLAND.

IN 1734, three of the Brethren, Andrew Grasman, Daniel Schneider, and John Nitschman, were sent on a mission to Lapland, with this instruction, that they should not settle in any place where missionaries laboured already, that so they might not interfere with the exertions of others. Having arrived at Stockholm, they there learned the Swedish language, and are said to have been useful to many people in that city. Afterwards they proceeded to Tornea, the most northern town in Sweden, and having here acquired the Lapponese language, they travelled through the whole of Swedish Lapland. But as in that part of the country they found some provisions made for the instruction of the people, they resolved to go to Russian Lapland.

In 1736, they returned to Stockholm; and in the following year they travelled together to Moscow and Archangel. In Moscow, they became acquainted with some sensible pious people, who forwarded them on their journey to Archangel. Here they fell in with some Samoides, who agreed to conduct them into their country. But on applying for a passport, they were suspected to be Swedish spies, and taken up; and after having been kept in separate places of confinement for five weeks, they were sent off to St. Petersburg. At first the guard treated them with great harshness; but at length, on observing their Christian meekness and patience, they behaved to them with more mildness. Once when they were crossing a lake during a thaw, the ice broke under the sledge, not far from the shore. Two of the soldiers and two of the Brethren fell into the water; but the third Brother helped them all out. In consequence of this, the guard afterwards acknowledged and applauded the integrity of their prisoners, who saved their lives, instead of leaving them to be drowned, and recovering their own liberty by flight. On their arrival at Petersburg, they suffered a second confinement of five weeks, and were subjected to frequent examinations; but as their innocence was completely cleared, they were dismissed, and furnished with a passport to Lubec. Crantz's History of the Brethren, p. 188.

In 1741, Elias Ostergreen and —— Behr, two others of the Brethren, set out again for Lapland. Having spent the

summer at Tornea, they proceeded, after Christmas, in company with a party of traders, to the first place, where a fair was held, about 170 miles from that town. Here they found a small church built of wood, in which a minister preached, and administered the sacraments during the fair! Except at this time, it seems, the people never came to church the whole year round. The Brethren enquired whether any unbaptized or Heathen people were there, that they might speak to them; but they were assured that they were all good Christians. Of this, however, their conduct was no great proof; for before the fair was ended, there was not an individual but what was guilty of drunkenness. This the traders encourage, in order that, when the people are intoxicated, they may make the better bargains with them.

Apprehending that they could be of no use in this quarter, the Brethren resolved to cross the mountains, and go to Finmark: and, with this view they engaged a Lapland guide. This man had a herd of 500 reindeer, but he drove them only as far as the confines of the country, and having left them there, he conducted the missionaries to a bay on the Icy Sea, Here they waited in vain for twelve weeks; but they at length procured a boat, with which they intended to proceed to Norwegian Lapland. On leaving the bay, they had the wide ocean to the right, and exceeding high rocks and mountains, covered with perpetual snows, to the left. Whenever the wind was high, they were obliged to run towards some rocky island, or to the neighbouring coast, for safety, and wait till it abated. They had sufficient covering to screen themselves from the cold, but when it rained, they were completely wet. As the sun, however, never set, they soon got dry again in clear weather, and suffered no material injury. At sea, they were not unfrequently in danger of being overset by whales. One morning, when they had a bay to cross, they discovered no less than ten of these monsters, and were obliged to return, after repeated attempts to pass it. At length, after encountering a variety of dangers, they arrived at an island belonging to Norwegian Lapland, in 1° North latitude. From hence they proceeded to a place where they found a church and a minister. The Norwegian Laplanders, are, in this respect, better provided for than the Swedish, for they have public worship every Lord's day. In this quarter, the Brethren remained two years; but as they had no prospect of being useful to the people, they left it, and

thus the mission to Lapland was finally given up. Periodical Accounts relative to the Missions of the United Brethren, vol. ii. p. 203.

GUINEA.

IN 1736, the United Brethren sent Christian Protten, a mulatto from Guinea, who, after his baptism, had studied divinity at Copenhagen, and Henry Hukuff, to begin a mission in Guinea. Having sailed from Holland in March 1737, they arrived in that country, after a voyage of about two months. Henry Hukuff, however, died soon after their arrival; but Christian Protten remained some years in the country. He at length returned in 1741, but afterwards he made two other attempts to introduce the gospel into that quarter of Africa, but without success.

After the Brethren had waited a number of years for a favourable opportunity to renew this mission, an application was made to them in 1767, by the Guinea company of Copenhagen, for some missionaries to settle in their factories on the coast of Africa. With this view, the company agreed to assign them a tract of land on the Rio Volta, or in any other situation, which should be deemed most convenient for the settlement of a mission, together with all such privileges as were necessary for promoting the conversion of the Negroes. This proposal having received the sanction of his Danish majesty, Jacob Meder, and four others of the Brethren, embarked for Guinea in 1768, and they soon after arrived in safety in that country. But before they were able to begin the intended settlement, Meder and two of his assistants died, and the two others laboured, at the same time, under dangerous disorders. As soon as this painful news was received in Europe, several of the Brethren cheerfully offered to go and supply their places. Four of them, who were selected for this purpose, accordingly set out soon after for the coast of Guinea, in 1770 they arrived in that country. But all of them, together with the two who were left of the first company, died that same year. Crantz's History of the Brethren, p. 223, 615.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE associates of the late Dr. Bray, a gentleman in England, who had, by his last will, made some provision for the

conversion of the Negroes in South Carolina, having solicited count Zinzendorf to send some missionaries to that colony, the Brethren Peter Boehler and George Schulcus were sent thither tn the year 1738. In consequence, however, of the sinister views of those who ought to have assisted them, they were hindered from prosecuting the great object of their mission. Both of them, indeed, soon fell sick. Schulcus died in 1739; and Boehler, who was at the same time minister of the colony of the Brethren in Georgia, retired with them to Pennsylvania, in consequence of their being required to carry arms in the war with Spain.—Crantz, p. 104, 226, 229.

ALGIERS.

IN 1739, Abraham E. Richler, who had been a merchant at Stralsund, and had joined the Brethren, sailed for Algiers, with the view of preaching the gospel to the Christian slaves in that country. On his arrival, notwithstanding the representations of the European consuls, he moved into the town, where the plague was then raging, visited the slaves in the barracks, preached the gospel to them, ministered to their bodily wants, and it is hoped, was useful in preparing some of them for their departure into the other world. He at length, however, fell a sacrifice to his benevolence and zeal. He had already had the plague, but he was attacked by it a second time, and died in the month of July 1740.

In 1745, Charles Nottbek, another of the Brethren, went to Algiers, with the same benovolent design. He remained in that country for upwards of three years, during which time he, by the permission of the Dey, ministered to the slaves, sometimes at the risk of his own life, both by making known the gospel to them, and by other acts of mercy. Nor were his labours altogether in vain. Some of the slaves having afterwards obtained their liberty, came to the congregation of the Brethren, and at length finished their course with joy.—Crantz, p. 242.

CEYLON.

IN 1739, the Brethren, David Nitschman, jun. and Frederick Eller, a physician, sailed for the island of Ceylon. After a tedious and disagreeable voyage, in the course of

which eighty of the ship's company, and among others, the surgeon of the vessel, died, they arrived at Columbo, the capital of that island, and met with a very favourable reception from the governor. When they entered, however, on their labours among the natives, they found, to their astonishment, that the poor people had been cautioned against them as Atheists. Indeed, before the end of the year, when some serious persons in Columbo began to hold meetings together, the new governor was prevailed upon to order the Brethren to quit the country. Short, however, as were their labours in that island, it was hoped that they were not altogether in vain. A surgeon, named Christian Dober, appeared to be brought to the knowledge of the truth by their means; and afterwards he came to the Brethren's congregation, and brought a Malabarian with him, who was baptized in 1746.—Crantz, p. 225, 314.

THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

BESIDES the missions of which we have given an account in the body of the work, this society has sent missionaries to the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, to Chinsurrah in Bengal, to Newfoundland, to various parts of Canada, to New Brunswick, to Ceylon, to Bombay, to Madras, to Buenos Ayres in South America, to the Burman Empire, to Belhary, to Malta, to Tobago, and to Trinidad. But as some of these missions were to people who professed themselves Christians, they do not come within the design of this work; and as others of them were relinquished almost as soon as they were begun, owing to the death of the missionaries, or other untoward events, they do not require particular notice. We shall, therefore, confine our attention to the missions to Ceylon and Belhary.

CEYLON.

IN February 1804, the Missionary Society sent Messrs. Vos, Erhardt, and Palm to Ceylon, encouraged by the accounts they had received of the vast number of the natives who professed themselves Christians, but who were now in a

great measure destitute of the means of religious instruction. On their arrival in that Island, Mr. Vos was appointed by his excellency governor North, to settle as minister of the Dutch church, at Point de Galle; Mr. Erhardt at Matura; and Mr. Palm at Jaffanapatnam, together with Mr. Read whom they had taken with them from the Cape of Good hope; and they, at the same time obtained an allowance from government, on account of their labours.—Transactions of the Missionary Society, vol. ii. p. 266. Mr. Vos was aftewards removed to Columbo the capital of the island; but after he had been sometime in that city he was ordered by government to quit the island, through the instigation of the Dutch consistory, whom, it is said, he had offended by his faithfulness and zeal. Mr. Erhardt, who had come to Columbo with the view of learning the Cingalese language more speedily, was ordered to leave that town, and return to Matura; and when there; he received a second order not to interfere with the Dutch, but to confine his instructions to the natives. In a few months, however, this restriction was withdrawn, and he was again permitted, by the authority of the governor, to perform all the duties of the ministerial office.—Report of the Missionary Society, 1807, p. 29. Ibid. 1808, p. 28. Ibid. 1810, p. 20.

His labours, however, were attended with little or no success. His congregation was extremely small, consisting only of about fifty or sixty people, of whom not more than fourteen or fifteen attended on the Lord's day, and even most of these were children. Evan. Mag. vol. xv. p. 570. Mr. Palm's labours were for some time equally unsuccessful. In February 1808, he says that to that period he had not been able to get the children to attend for instruction, as their parents were averse to the Christian religion, and preferred sending them to the schools of Pagan teachers. Scarcely any, it appears, attended his preaching. Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 228. Some of whom he once entertained pleasing expectations, disappointed these hopes. Even several, who had promised, with tears in their eyes, no longer to reject the gospel, but to forsake their idols of wood and stone, left him, and when he afterwards met with them, and remonstrated with them in a friendly manner, they replied, "We are Tamulers, and do right in living according to the customs of our country. Our Brahmins, who are holy men, and in great favour with God, assure us, that our state after

this life will be far more happy than that of many Christians who are the disturbers of our happiness here. Our forefathers lived in peace and plenty in this country, but since the Christians conquered us, we have lost our happiness." Mr. Palm, however, succeeded at length in erecting a school at Tillipally, which, in 1810 contained twenty boys, some of whom had made considerable progress in learning, and in the knowledge of religion. He likewise frequently preached and catechised the children at Jaffna-town; and it appears that the gospel was there heard with general attention.—Miss. Trans vol. iii. p. 343. Mr. Read, besides preaching to the soldiers in English, and exhorting in Dutch, had a school for teaching Cingalese and Portuguese boys the English language, on which he ingrafted religious instructions.—Report of the Missionary Society, 1810, p. 20.

We have the satisfaction to add, that, by the laudable exertions of sir Alexander Johnston, the chief judge of the island, the Rev. Mr. Twisleton, and other friends of religion, the establishment of schools which existed under the Dutch government, has lately been revived to a certain extent. Mr. Erhardt and Mr. Palm have, by the kindness of government, been appointed to two of the churches; and each of the missionaries, including Mr. Read, appears to have the superintendence of the schools in their respective districts—Report of the Missionary Society, 1813, p. 15.

BELHARY.

IN 1809, Mr. Hands was sent to India, with the view of beginning a mission to Seringapatnam; but as on his arrival he could not obtain access to that city, he fixed his residence at Belhary, a place about one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Madras. Here he immediately began to learn the language of the natives called the Kurnatta, or Kanaada, which is spoken from the borders of the Mahratta country, nearly to the bottom of the Mysore. Of this language he has formed a grammar and vocabulary; and he has already translated into it the gospels according to Matthew and Luke, and a Catechism. Besides conversing with the natives on the subject of religion, he preached on the Lord's day morning to the English soldiers and others, at the Kutcheree; in the afternoon at the hospital; and in the evening at his

own house. Considerable impressions appeared to be made on the minds of many of the military, and several of the young Portuguese seemed to be seriously disposed. He also began a charity school for the poor children, in the establishment of which he met with great encouragement from many of the European ladies and gentlemen in the town. By the last accounts, it contained nearly fifty children, many of whom had made considerable progress in useful knowledge, and the greater part of them regularly attended on divine worship. This school was conducted by a pious soldier, under the superintendence of our missionary. By the assistance of some kind friends, Mr. Hands has also been enabled to erect a native school-house in the mission garden, where near forty children of different casts attend. This school is chiefly under the care of a respectable Brahmin, the brother of his moonshee; and as the natives are extremely desirous that their children should learn English, Mr. Hands intends as a stimulus to the scholars in general, and as a reward, to the most diligent, to select a few for that privilege.—Evan. Mag. vol. xvii. p. 127; vol. xviii. p. 448; vol. xix. p. 150, 316; vol. xxi. p. 115. Report of the Missionary Society, 1812, p. 17. Ibid. 1813, p. 10, 26.

In March 1812, Mr. Thomson, who had been sent to the assistance of Mr. Hands, arrived at Madras; but on reporting himself at the police-office, and requesting permission to go forward to Belhary, he was informed that as he had come from Egland without a license from the directors of the East India Company, he could not be allowed to remain in the country, but must return to Europe, or the Isle of France, by the first opportunity. Mr. Thomson addressed a respecful letter to the governor on the subject; but it was without effect. He did not, however, return to Europe, for only a few weeks after he received this order, he was taken extremely ill, and in a few days, died triumphing in the hope of a glorious immortality.—Report of the Missionary Society, 1813, p. 12.

This, though the first, was not the only instance in which the India government ordered back those who were sent to that country, with the view of propagating Christianity among the Hindoos. Soon after Mr. Thomson's arrival, five missionaries from North America landed at Calcutta, but they were immediately ordered to leave the country, an injunction which they found it necessary to obey. Report

of the Missionary Society, 1813, p. 26. To this we have to add, with regret, that Messrs. Johns and Lawson, two Baptist missionaries, who lately arrived in Bengal, and even Mr. Robison, who had been nearly seven years in the country, have been ordered to return to England. Mr. Johns, indeed, has already arrived in this country.

This however, we trust, is the last instance in which the India government will exercise so pernicious a prerogative. In the summer of 1813, when a bill for the renewal of the East India Company's charter was before parliament, it was proposed, that persons desirous of promoting Christianity in India, should have liberty to proceed to that country, and should enjoy the protection of government while they conducted themselves in a prudent and peaceable manner. This important measure was supported by upwards of nine hundred petitions from different parts of the United Kingdom; and though it met with considerable opposition in the house of commons, it was carried by a majority, and in the house of lords, it passed without opposition. The following is a copy of the clause in the bill which relates to this subject, and which may now be considered as the Magna Charta of missionaries in India:

"XXXI. And whereas it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement; and, in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in, India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs, so as the authority of the local governments respecting the intercourse of the Europeans with the interior of the country may be preserved, and the principles of the British government on which the natives of India have hitherto relied, for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained: And whereas it is expedient to make provision for granting permission to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India, for the above purposes; and also to persons desirous of going to, or remaining there, for other lawful purposes; be it therefore enacted, that when, and as often as any application shall be made to the said court of directors, for or on behalf of

any person or persons desirous of proceeding to the East Indies for permission so to do, the said court shall, unless they shall think fit to comply therewith, transmit every such application, within one month from the receipt thereof, to the said board of commissioners, and if there be not any sufficient objection thereto, it shall, and may be lawful for the said commissioners, to direct that such person or persons shall, at his or their own special charge, be permitted to proceed to any of the said principle settlements, of the said company; and that such person or persons shall be furnished by the said court of directors, with a certificate or certificates, according to such form as the said commissioners shall prescribe, signifying that such person or persons hath, or have so proceeded, with the cognizance, and under the sanction of the said court of directors: and that all such certificates shall entitle the persons obtaining the same, so long as they shall properly conduct themselves, to the countenance and protection of the several governments of the said company in the East Indies, and parts aforesaid, in their respective pursuits, subject to all such provisions and restrictions as are now in force, or may hereafter be judged necessary with regard to persons residing in India."

Subsequent clauses provide, that the directors may make such representations to the board of controul, respecting persons who apply for admission, as they think fit; that all persons when arrived in India, shall be subject to the regulations of the company's government; that governments in India may declare licences void, if it shall appear to them that the persons to whom they were granted have forfeited their claim of protection; that governments in India shall not sanction the residence of any person there, who went without licence, after April 10, 1814, but may send them back in any ship belonging to the company; yet that the governor general may, for extraordinary reasons, authorize such persons to stay, until the pleasure of the court of directors is known.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 321, 438.

To this statement we think it is only justice to add, that the court of directors of the East India Company in this country, appears by no means so unfavourable to the propagation of Christianity in India, as the supreme government in Bengal, the members of which, we are sorry to say, have manifested a timidity and even an animosity, in relation to

the extension of the religion they themselves profess, which would have appeared truly astonishing had it been manifested by a Mahommedan government, under similar circumstances. Dr. Buchanan relates many interesting but melancholy facts on this subject, in his late Apology for Promoting Christianity in India, which we consider as the most valuable, and the most authentic of all his writings, concerning the state of religion in the East.

No. II.

ACCOUNT OF THE EXERTIONS

OF

SOME PERSONS DISTINGUISHED BY THEIR ZEAL

FOR THE

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY

AMONG THE HEATHEN.

THE HONOURABLE MR. BOYLE.

THE honourable Mr. Boyle was not only a man of extensive learning, and one of the first philosophers of the age in which he lived; he was no less distinguished by his zeal and activity in promoting the interests of Christianity, both at home and abroad. Having been greatly instrumental in procuring the charter of the East India Company, and been for many years one of the directors, he made a proposal to them, that they should make some attempt for the propagation of Christianity in the East. But Mr. Boyle was not satisfied with recommending this important object to the attention of others; he was one of the first to stand forward, and to contribute to the expence of the undertaking. As soon as he found that the East India Company was favourable to the measure he had recommended, he sent *l.*100 to assist in the commencement of the scheme, intending at the same time to promote it still further, when it should actually be set on foot. During the space of about thirty years, he was the governor of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent in America; and in the course of his life he contributed *l.*300 for that important object, and at his death he left a further sum for the same purpose. He not only expended *l.*700 on an edition of the Irish Bible, which he ordered to be distributed in Ireland, (besides contributing largely to the printing

of the Welsh Bible, and of the Irish Bible for Scotland;) but he designed to have defrayed the expence of publishing the New Testament in the Turkish language. The Turkey company, however, thought it became them to be at the charge of that undertaking, and therefore allowed him to be only a contributer to it. He was at the expence, however, of publishing the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Malay language, which were printed in the Roman character, at Oxford, in 1677, under the direction of the learned Dr. Hyde, professor of Oriental languages in that university, and were afterwards sent for distribution in the East. He likewise gave a noble reward to Dr. Edward Pococke, for translating into Arabic the celebrated work of Grotius *De Veritate Christianæ Religionis;* and was at the expence of the whole impression, which he was careful to have circulated in those countries where that language was understood. To crown the whole, he left at his death, the sum of *l.*5,400 for the propagation of Christianity among the infidel and unenlightened nations. Birch's Life of the honourable Mr. Boyle, perfixed to his works, vol. i. p. 108, 139. Bishop Burnet's Sermons, pi 167. Hodgson's Life of Bishop Porteous, p. 111.

DR. BERKLEY LATE BISHOP OF CLOYNE.

After his return from abroad in 1721, this distinguished philosopher was employed in forming "A scheme for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity, by a college to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda." In 1725, he published a proposal for this purpose, and offered to resign his own preferment as dean of Derry, which was worth *l.*1,100 a year, and to dedicate the remainder of his life to the instructing of the youth in America, with the moderate salary of *l.*108 per annum. Such was the force of his eloquence and disinterested example, that three junior fellows of Trinity college, Dublin, the Rev. William Thomson, Jonathan Rogers, and James King, consented to accompany him, and to exchange all their prospects at home for a settlement in the Atlantic Ocean of *l.*40 a year; and that too at a time when a fellowship in Dublin college was supposed to place a man in a very favourable point of view for attracting the notice of his superiors, both in church and state.

In a letter of recommendation which the celebrated dean Swift gave Dr. Berkeley to Lord Carteret, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, we have the following account of him and his plan: "He is an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power; and for three years past has been struck with a notion of founding an university at Bermuda, by a charter from the crown. He hath seduced several of the hopefullest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way for preferment: but in England, his conquests are greater, and I doubt will spread very far this winter. He shewed me a little tract which he designs to publish, and there you will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical; of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposeth *a whole hundred pounds for himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student.* His heart will break if his deanry is not taken from him, and left to your excellency's disposal. I discourage him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And therefore I do humbly intreat your excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom for learning and virtue quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design, which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage."

Dr. Berkeley, having acquired an accurate knowledge of the value of certain lands in the Island of St. Christopher's, which had been ceded by France to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, and which were then to be sold for the public use, undertook to raise from them a much greater sum than was expected, and proposed that a part of this money should be applied to the erecting of his college. He found means, by the assistance of a Venetian of distinction, the Abbe Gualteri, (or Altieri,) with whom he had formed an acquaintance in Italy, to carry this proposal to George I. to whom that foreigner had easy access; and his majesty laid his commands on sir Robert Walpole to introduce and conduct the business through the house of commons. His majesty was further pleased to grant a charter for erecting a college, by the name of St. Paul's college in Bermuda, to consist of a president and nine fellows, who were obliged

to maintain and educate Indian scholars, at the rate of *l.*10 a year for each. In May 1725, the house of commons voted "that a humble address be presented to his majesty, that out of the lands in St. Christopher's his majesty would be graciously pleased to make such grant for the use of the president and fellows of the college of St. Paul in Bermuda, as his majesty shall think proper." The sum of *l.*20,000 was accordingly promised by the minister, and several private subscriptions were immediately raised for promoting "so pious an undertaking," as it is styled in the king's answer to this address.*

But notwithstanding this grant, so many unexpected difficulties and obstructions were thrown in the way by men in power, that though the whole soul of Dr. Berkeley was bent on the object, yet two full years elapsed before it was possible for him to get the necessary arrangements made. At length, however, in September 1728, he set sail for Rhode Island accompanied by his lady, whom he had married only a few weeks before; Mr. Smilert, an ingenious painter; Messrs. James and Dallon, two gentlemen of fortune: a pretty large sum of money of his own property, and a collection of books for a library. He directed his course to Rhode Island which lay nearest to Bermuda, with the view of purchasing lands on the adjacent continent, for the support of his college, having a positive promise from the ministry, that the parliamentary grant should be paid him as soon as the lands should be agreed on.

But notwithstanding this promise, the money was never paid, being always delayed, sometimes under one pretence, and sometimes under another. At length, bishop Gibson, on applying to sir Robert Walpole, who was then at the head of the treasury, received from him the following scandalous answer: "If you put this question to me as a minister, I must and can assure you, that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience: but if you ask me as a friend, whether dean Berkeley should

* It is stated, though on what authority we know not, that when the queen, with whom Dr. Berkeley was a favourite, endeavoured to dissuade him from his design, and offered him her interest for an English bishoprick, he nobely replied, that "he would prefer the headship of St. Paul's college at Bermuda, to the primacy of all England; though we have already mentioned, his salary from that office was only to be *l.*100 a year. Encyclopædia Britannica, Art. Berkeley.

continue in America expecting the payment of *l.*20,000, I advise him by all means to return to Europe, and to give up his expectations." The dean having received information of this conference from his friend the bishop, and being fully convinced that the base policy of one man had rendered abortive a scheme on which he had expended much of his private fortune, and more than seven years of his life, returned to Europe in 1731. Before he left Rhode Island, he distributed what books he had brought with him among the clergy of that province;* and immediately after his arrival in London, he returned all the private subscriptions that had been advanced for the support of his undertaking. Such was the unfavourable termination of Dr. Berkeley's scheme for the erection of a college in the Bermuda islands, and the conversion of the American Indians; a scheme which reflects more honour upon his name than all his learned labours ever can confer.—Berkeley's works, vol. i. p. 11, 42.

REV. DR. WHEELOCK.

In 1754, the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, of Lebanon in Connecticut, established a charity school for the education of Indian children, together with some English youths, with the view of preparing them for labouring as missionaries, interpreters, or schoolmasters, among the different tribes of Indians. These children were not only educated, but clothed and supported by him; and such was the success of his measures, that in 1765, little more than ten years after the commencement of the institution, there were no fewer than three missionaries, eight schoolmasters, and two interpreters occasionally hired to assist them, employed in labouring among the Indian tribes, together with twenty-two youths in the school at Lebanon, all of whom were dependent on him for support.—A Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 1767, p. 3, 22.

In 1766, the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, and the Rev. Samson Occum, an Indian preacher, and the first pupil who was educated at the school, were sent over to Great Britian, in order to obtain subscriptions for the support of this important

* Dr. Holmes says, that Dr. Berkeley gave Yale College ninety-six acres of land in Rhode Island, and a thousand volumes of books. Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 114.

institution. Upon their arrival in England, the plan met with the most liberal patronage of Christians of every denomination, and of all ranks of society. His majesty came forward with a subscription of *l.*200; and in November 1768, the whole contributions amounted to no less than *l.*9911 : 5 : 0½ of which sum, the earl of Dartmouth, John Thornton, Esq. of Clapham, and several other gentlemen of the first respectability, were constituted trustees. Besides remitting to Dr. Wheelock upwards of two thousand pounds, they laid out *l.*6237 : 1 : 6 in the purchase of *l.*7000, three per cent. reduced bank annuities, the principal and interest of which, together with all sums as should be paid to them for the Indian charity school, they obliged themselves, by a deed of trust, to employ, to the best of their judgment, for the advancement and support of that institution.—A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 1769, p. 83, 85, 128.

In Scotland, Messrs. Whitaker and Occum met with no less success, considering the extent and population of the country. Having presented a memorial to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, the directors of that useful institution transmitted copies of it to all the ministers of the church of Scotland, with an earnest recommendation to them to obtain contributions for the Indian school in their respective parishes; and, in order to secure the proper application of the money, they resolved that it should be placed under their own management. In consequence of this recommendation, the sum of *l.*2529 : 17 : 11 was collected in this country, making, with the money raised in England, upwards of *l.*12,000.—Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 1774, p. 16.

By means of these large contributions, the plan of the Indian school was extended, and as a proposal was made to remove it from Lebanon in Connecticut, various offers were made for its encouragement in several of the neighbouring colonies. Dr. Wheelock, with the advice of the board of trustees in England, accepted the invitation of the governor of New-Hampshire, and other gentlemen of that province; and the township of Hanover, a place about 200 miles from Lebanon, was finally fixed on, as the most convenient situation for a school. The governor annexed to it a charter of incorporation for an university, under the name of Dartmouth college, in honour of its great friend and benefactor

in England, the earl of Dartmouth. The college was endowed with a landed estate, amounting to 44,000 acres; and a board of trustees was constituted, with powers of perpetual succession.

In 1770, Dr. Wheelock removed the school from Lebanon to Hanover, at which time the number of scholars was twenty-four, eighteen of whom were English, and the other six Indians. The following Table will shew the number of scholars from that period to the year 1785.

		Indian	English.
In the year ending October	1771	11	13
Do.	1772	18	14
Do.	1773	17	13
Do.	1774	16	14
Do.	1775	16	14
From 1775 to March	1777	21	
1777 to March	1778	5	8*
1778 to April	1779	10	
1779 to October	1781	9	
1781 to March	1785	5	

American Correspondence, among the Records of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, MS. vol. i. p. 302.

In June 1789, the following statement of the expences attending the Indian charity school, from the year 1767, was laid before a committee of a Board of Commissioners from the society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, held at Boston, by Dr. John Wheelock, the president of Dartmouth college:

* Under the English, we have here included one French scholar.

To Missionaries, - - -	£1446	18	0
Schoolmasters in the Wilderness and school,	625	16	11
156 Indians, male and female, educated in the school, exclusive of those in the Wilderness, - - -	3193	16	4
147 English youths educated in the school,	2259	10	6
Labour, clearing lands, buildings, &c. -	2389	14	1
Clothing to October 1770, expences of horses for missionaries, printing narratives, &c. - - - - -	1330	19	10
Interest, balance of his accompt, charges procuring evidence, journeyings,	155	9	7
	11,400	5	3
By money received from England, Scotland, and America, - - - - -	10,209	15	2
Balance, - - -	£1,190	10	1

The whole of the money collected in England, principal and interest, was gradually remitted for the use of the institution. American Correspondence, MS. vol. i, p. 183, 294. Several sums were also paid out of the fund in Scotland, until the commencement of hostilities between America and the mother country. During the war, Dr. Eleazor Wheelock died, and was succeeded by his son Dr. John Wheelock, in the presidency of the college. At the conclusion of peace, the correspondence between the society in Scotland and the managers of the school in America was renewed, and the balance due to it was at length settled, though not without very considerable difficulty. Doubts, indeed, began to be entertained, that the money was not applied to the original purposes of the institution; and, on enquiry, it was found, that though the buildings in the college appropriated for the Indian school were still kept up, and the American funds destined for its support, applied to no other purpose: yet, since 1785, no youths of any description, whether Indian or English, had been educated in it. The reason assigned for this by Dr. Wheelock was, the want of the usual remittances from this country; and, on the other hand, the society thought it proper to refuse his demands for money; until the attempt was renewed. They even remitted the

matter to the consideration of their law committee, and directed them to report how far they were at liberty to alienate the money collected for this charity, and to apply it for the support of missionaries among the American Indians, or other infidel nations. The law committee, however, gave it as their unanimous opinion, "that the society were not at liberty to bestow this money on any other object than that for which it was collected; but that no part of it should be transmitted to Dartmouth college, without satisfactory evidence being first obtained, that the original purpose of the institution was fulfilled." By this means, the money collected for the Indian charity school lay, for some years, unappropriated to any purpose whatever, excepting that 50*l.* a year was paid out of it, to Mr. Kirkland the missionary, who was educated at this seminary. In consequence of this, it increased considerably, and in May 1795, it amounted to 2,324*l.* 16*s.* 2*d*, including the stock and savings.—Account of the Funds, Expenditure, &c. of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, p. 17, 60, American Correspondence, MS. vol. i p. 369.

Since that period, the school has again been opened, for the education of Indian and English youths. About 1798 or 1799, a young man was admitted into it, and when his education was completed, he offered to go among the Cherokee Indians, but there were no funds to support him. In 1800, Dr. Wheelock received two Indian boys into the school, but one of them left it of his own accord, within less than a year, and returned to his friends, and the other, not long after, fell into a declining state of health, and was likewise obliged to go home. For several years past, there have generally been three or four youths in the Indian school, most of whom were very promising, and made rapid progress in learning, and besides these, there are a number of English youths who, we suppose, are educated on funds raised in America. American Correspondence, MS. vol. ii. p. 3, 47, 55, 65, 79, 88, &c.

Since the accounts published by Dr. Wheelock, senior, no particular success is known to have attended the missions, and exhibitions of the Indian charity school, except that captain Brandt, a Mohawk chief, and others who were educated at it, appear to have introduced some degree of knowledge and civilization among the Six Nations, a fact which is acknowledged by the Indians themselves.—American

Correspondence, MS. vol. ii. p. 56. Several of the English youth who attended the school, afterwards relinquished the office of missionaries, or there were no means of supporting them; only two Indians ever completed their education at the school, from the period of its removal to New-Hampshire, until it was shut up in 1785, one of whom died about 1791, and the other was unfit for being employed as a missionary. From experience, it was found; that, in general, the Indian youth, however well they promised while at school, turned out extremely ill, on returning to their own countrymen, so that there was little or no prospect of spreading the gospel among the savages, by means of them. American Correspondence, MS. vol. i. p. 291. The following picture, drawn by Doctors Morse and Belknap, is perhaps, highly coloured, but yet we fear there is too much truth in the general lineaments: "An Indian youth," say they, "has been taken from his friends, and conducted to a new people, whose modes of thinking and living, whose pleasures and pursuits, are totally dissimilar to those of his own nation. His new friends profess to love him, and to have a desire for his improvement in human and divine knowledge, and a concern for his everlasting salvation; but, at the same time, they endeavour to make him sensible of his inferiority to themselves. To treat him as an equal, would mortify their own pride, and degrade them in the view of their neighbours. He is put to school; but his fellow-students look upon him as a being of an inferior species. He acquires some knowledge, and is taught some ornamental, and, perhaps, useful accomplishments; but the degrading memorials of his inferiority, which are continually before his eyes, remind him of the manners and habits of his own country, where he was once free, and equal to his associates. He sighs to return to his friends; but among them he meets with the most bitter mortification. He is neither a White man, nor an Indian. As he had no character with us, so he has none with them. If he has strength of mind, sufficient to renounce all his acquirements, and to resume the savage life and manners, he may possibly be again received by his countrymen; but the greater probability is, that he will take refuge from their contempt in the inebriating draught; and when this becomes habitual, he will be safe from no vice, and secure from no crime. His downward progress will be rapid, and his death premature. Such has been the fate of

several Indians who have had the opportunity of enjoying an English or a French education, and have returned to their native country. Such persons must either entirely renounce their acquired habits, and resume their savage manners; or if they remain among their countrymen, they will live despised, and die unlamented."—Collections of the Massachuset Historical Society.

We have been thus particular in our account of Dr. Wheelock's Indian school; of the extent of the undertaking, the expence of the establishment; and the almost total failure of the attempt, because we consider it as nearly of as much importance to know what plans have failed, as what have been attended with success, that so we may not again run into the same errors, and, in future, may devise our measures with more wisdom and effect.

DR. PORTEUS, LATE BISHOP OF LONDON.

We have already stated, that the honourable Mr. Boyle left at his death a considerable sum for the Propagation of Christianity among infidel and unenlightened nations. This act of benevolence has of late years given occasion to a display of zeal on the part of Dr. Porteus, late bishop of London, for the conversion of the Heathen. The nature and circumstances of the case we cannot better explain, than in the words of the venerable bishop:

"In 1691," says he, "the great Mr. Boyle left a sum of money, amounting to *l.*5,400, for the advancement of the Christian religion amongst infidels. With this sum, an estate was afterwards purchased at Brafferton, near Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire. The earl of Burlington, and the Bishop of London for the time being, were constituted trustees of the charity; and in 1693, they directed that the profits of the estate should be paid to the president of William and Mary college in Virginia, to be applied by them to the education and instruction of a certain number of Indian children. This appointment was confirmed by a decree of the court of chancery, in 1698. The charity continued to be so applied till the breaking out of the American war; soon after which, the then bishop of London forbade the agent of the college to remit any more money to Virginia. After the peace, the college claimed the rents of the estate, and all the arrears that had accumulated, which, with the sale of

some timber, amounted to a very large sum. This was resisted by bishop Lowth; and on my succeeding to the see of London, a regular suit in chancery was commenced between me and the college of Virginia. The question was, Whether they, being now separated from this kingdom, and become a foreign independent state, were entitled to the benefit of this charity? It was the first question of the kind that had occurred in this country since the American revolution, and was therefore in the highest degree curious and important. The chancellor, lord Thurlow, decided against the college. He excluded them from all share in the charity, and directed that the trustees should offer a plan for the appropriation of the charity to some other purpose. In consequence of this decree, I gave into the master in chancery, Mr. Orde, my plan for the application of Mr. Boyle's charity, and proposed for its object, "The conversion and religious instruction of the Negroes in the British West India Islands." This has been subsequently approved by the lord chancellor, and there will now be a revenue of near *l.*1000 per annum applied to that purpose."

"To this, his own account of the origin and establishment of that Society, I am enabled to add," says his biographer Mr. Hodgson, "from my own personal observation and knowledge, that he not only, in his capacity as president, took a leading part in all its transactions, but that he was indefatigable in his efforts to promote the objects of it. With the view of rendering the Scriptures more generally useful to the Negroes, he undertook to make a selection of such parts both of the Old and New Testament, as appeared to him best adapted to their understandings and condition. He spared no pains in procuring able and conscientious ministers to fill the office of missionaries. He corresponded frequently with them on the state of their mission. He endeavoured, by all the means in his power, to conciliate the good will of the planters, to remove the apprehensions they expressed, and to convince them of the policy, as well as the humanity, of educating, and instructing their slaves. In short, he did all that the most active and unwearied zeal could do to advance, in every possible way, the great purposes of the institution. If after all, its success fell short of his hopes, as I have heard him often lament that it did, the failure is not to be ascribed to the want of effort in him, but to the difficulties which, though in some instances overcome,

he found in others insuperable. The chief of these always has been, and still continues to be, an invincible reluctance on the part of the proprietors and planters of estates in our West India colonies, effectually to promote any plan, however quietly and prudently conducted, for the Christian education of their Negro slaves. To this general assertion, indeed, I know there are some honourable exceptions; but, on the whole, there does not appear an increasing disposition as far as my information and experience enable me to judge, to discountenance and impede all attempts to instruct that unfortunate part of our fellow beings in the principles and practice of religion."—Hodgson's life of bishop Porteus, p. 111.

The above society, for the conversion and religious instruction and education of the Negro slaves in the West India Islands, was incorporated by royal charter in 1793; and the bishop of London for the time being was appointed president. Soon after the abolition of the slave trade, Dr. Porteus addressed a letter to the West India planters, recommending to them the establishment of as many schools in each parish of the West India Islands, as the Negro population might require, on the plan of Dr. Bell; and by his will he left *l.*1000 three per cent. stock for the general purposes of the society. Christian Observer, vol. vii. p. 200.

No. III.

LIST

OF

TRANSLATIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

INTO THE LANGUAGES OF

PAGAN AND MAHOMMEDAN NATIONS.

IN the following list of translations of the Holy Scriptures, the author has included some which were originally designed for the use of Christians, because the same language is also spoken by Pagans and Mahommedans, and they may therefore be employed in promoting their conversion to the faith of Christ. Where more than one edition has been printed, he has seldom mentioned any except the first, unless when there was something peculiar in the subsequent impressions. Those which have never been printed, he has marked as in manuscript, when he was certain of the fact. Though the list is no doubt imperfect, yet he believes it is by far the most complete which has yet been published. The importance of such an account is obvious from this circumstance, that the author believes he could mention more than one instance in which translations of the Scriptures have been unndertaken, within these few years, without its being known to the translators that versions already existed in these languages. The whole is alphabetically arranged, to render it more convenient for reference.

AFGHAN.

The Gospels according to Matthew and Mark, in the Afghan language, MS.

In 1810, Dr. John Leyden, professor of Hindostanee in the college of Fort William, who had a number of learned natives, from various parts of the East, employed under him in preparing grammars and vocabularies of the languages of their respective countries, offered to

procure, by their means, versions of the Four Gospels in the following languages, the Afghan, Siamese, Macassar, Bugis, Rakheng, Maldivian, and Jaghatai, most of which had never yet been cultivated by Europeans. (Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1811, Appendix, p. 76.) Having died, however, soon after, he only executed the following, or rather superintended the execution of them by natives of the several countries, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, part second, in Maldivian; Matthew and Mark, in Afghan; Mark in Baloch, Bugis, and Macassar. None of these, however, have been printed, as it was not reckoned expedient to commit them to the press without being revised by an European scholar. Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1812, p. 13. Append. p. 75.

The New Testament in the Afghan language, translating by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore.

After the death of Dr. Leyden, the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, unwilling that the work should be relinquished, procured learned men who understood the Afghan language, and hope, through their means to complete a version in that dialect. Baptist Periodical Accounts, vol. v. p. 41, 61.

AMERICAN INDIAN.*

The New Testament in the Indian Language, by John Eliot, Cambridge, New England, 4to. 1661.

The Old Testament in the Indian Language, by John Eliot, Cambridge, New-England, 4to. 1664.

A second edition of the whole Bible in the Indian Language, was published in 1685, in correcting which, Mr. Eliot was assisted by Mr. John Cotton, of New Plymouth Colony. Holmes' American Annals, vol. i. p. 318, 327.

The Book of Psalms, and the Gospel according to John, in columns of English and Indian, by Experience Mayhew, Boston, 1709.—Mayhew's Indian Converts, p. 307.

The New Testament, in the Mohegan language, together with many parts of the Old Testament, by John Sergeant, sen. late Missionary at Stockbridge, MS. Hopkin's Memoirs of the Housatunnuk Indians.

The Mohegan language, we are informed by Dr. Jonathan Edwards, who, by living at Stockbridge while his venerable father was missionary at that place, acquired it in his early years, is spoken by all the Indians throughout New-England. Every tribe, indeed, has a different

* Le Long, in his Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 448, mentions a translation under the following title: "Novum Testamentum lingua Indica, 12. Londini, Mathæi Symmons, 1646;" but we suspect that no such translation exists: at least we never heard of any previous to Mr. Eliot's, which was not printed till several years afterwards. He also mentions the following Polyglott MS.: "Novum Testamentum Indica, Armenica et Vandalica seu Slavica lingua. Bibl. Monachensis sive Bavarica," Ibid. tom. i. p. 8; but whether the Indian to which he here refers is one of the languages of North America, or of the East Indies, we do not know.

dialect, but the language is radically the same. Mr. Eliot's translation of the Bible was into a dialect of this language. The Mohegan, indeed, appears to be spoken much more extensively than any other language in North America. The languages of the Delawares in Pennsylvania, of the Penobscots on the borders of Nova Scotia, of the Indians of St. Francis in Canada, of the Shawanose on the Ohio, and of the Chippeways, to the westward of Lake Huron, are all radically the same with the Mohegan. This is likewise said to be the case with the language of the Ottaways, the Nantikoks, the Munsys, the Menomonees, the Messisangas, , the Saukies, the Ottagaumies, the Killistinoes, the Nipegons, the Algonkins, the Winnebagoes, &c. Edwards' observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians, p. 5.

The Gospel according to Matthew, together with many chapters, both from the Old and New Testament, in the Mohawk language, by the Rev. Mr. Freeman of Schenectady.

This translation was made about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Some passages of it were printed at New-York, but the greater part of it, we suppose, was left in manuscript. Humphrey's Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, p. 286, 302.

The Gospel according to Mark, in Mohawk and English, by colonel Brandt, an Indian chief, 1787.—Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1805, p. 17, 56; Holmes' Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, p. 43.

The Gospel according to John, in the Mohawk language, by captain Norton an Indian chief, 1804.—Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc, 1805, p. 16; Ibid. 1807, p. 41.

The Moravian missionaries in North America translated various passages of the Holy Scriptures both into the Mohegan and Delaware languages; but whether they are still in existence we do not know; for, in 1781, all the books and writings which they had compiled for the instruction of the Indian youth, are said to have been destroyed by the savages. Loskiel's History of the Mission among the North American Indians, Part II. p. 151, 182; Part III. p. 80, 161.

ARABIC.*

The Bible in Arabic, in the Paris Polyglott, 1645.

The Bible in Arabic, in the London Polyglott, 1657. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 122.

* For a list of MS. copies of the sacred writings in Arabic, See Le Long Bibliotheca Sacra. tom i. p. 111---122.

The Bible in Arabic, without the vowel points, published by order of the congregation *de propaganda fide*, for the use of the churches in the East, to which is added, the Vulgate translation.—Rome, 1671, 3 vols. folio.

This version was originally made by Sergius Risius, archbishop of the Maronites at Damascus, during the popedom of Urban VIII. Before it was published, however, it was revised by order of the Propaganda, and it is said to have been modeled entirely after the Vulgate. When copies of the first volume were sent to the East, they could scarcely be understood, and the missionaries were accused of corrupting the word of God. This excited so much disturbance, that the work was suppressed by authority of the pope for many years; but yet the whole was afterwards printed.—Ibid. tom. i. p. 124.

The Bible in Arabic, by the patriarch of Antioch. Ducharest in Wallachia, folio, 1700.—Ibid. tom. i. p. 125.

The Holy Scriptures in Arabic, edited by Raphael Tuki, bishop of Erzerum, under the patronage of the congregation *de propaganda fide*, vol. i. 1752—1753, 4to. Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. i. p. 277; Marsh's History of the Translations of the Holy Scriptures, p. 79.

The Bible in Arabic.

This work was undertaken some years ago by the late professor Carlyle, but he died before accomplishing it. It has, however, been lately completed.—Marsh's History, p. 33.

The Pentateuch in Arabic, printed in Hebrew characters, from the version of Rabbi Saadias, folio, Constantinople, 1546.

This was printed in a Polyglott edition of the Pentateuch, which was published at Constantinople in 1546, or, as is sometimes said, 1551; and, besides the Arabic, it contained the five books of Moses, in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Persic.—Le Long. tom. i. p. 41, 125.

The Pentateuch in Arabic, edited by Thomas Erpenius, 4to. Leyden, 1622. Ibid. tom. i. p 125.

The Psalms in Arabic, translated from the Greek. Genoa, 1516.

This appeared in a Polyglott edition of the Psalms, which was printed at Genoa in 1516; and besides the Arabic, contained the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee text, and three Latin versions.—Ibid. tom. i. p. 41, 125.

The Psalms of David, with the Songs of the Old and New Testament, in Syriac and Arabic. Printed in the small Syriac character, on Mount Libanus, in the monastery of St. Anthony and St. John the Evangelist, by Joseph F. Amima, 1610. Ibid. tom. i. p. 103.

The Psalms of David, Arabic and Latin, from the version of Gabriel Sionita, 4to. Rome, 1614. Ibid. tom. i. p. 122. 125.

The Psalms of David in Coptic, Arabic, and Latin, edited by Thomas Petræus, 4to.—Leyden, 1663. Ibid. tom. i. p. 43.

The Psalms of David in Arabic, printed at the expence of Athanasius, the Antiochan patriarch of the Greeks, 4to.—Aleppo, 1706. Ibid. tom. i. p. 125.

The Psalms of David, the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer, in Arabic, with parallel passages of Scripture From the Old and New Testament. London, 1725.

This work was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and the whole impression, consisting of upwards of six thousand copies, was sent abroad, so that a copy of it is now rarely to be seen. The Arabic text differs from that in the Polyglott. Solomon Negri, a native of Damascus, was brought from Halle, in Saxony to London, to superintend the printing of it.

The Psalms of David in Arabic, 8vo. Aleppo, 1735.

The Psalms of David in Arabic, printed at the monastery Of St. John, on Mount Kersvan, 8vo. 1735.

The Psalms of David in Arabic, by the monks of St. Basil, in the monastery of St. John the Baptist, on Mount Chaswan, 8vo. 1764. Bib. Dict. vol. i p. 277.

The Psalter, Coptic and Arabic, 4to. Rome, 1744.

The Alexandrian Psalter, Coptic and Arabic, 4to. Rome, 1749.

Both these Psalters were published by the congregation *de Propaganda fide*, with the view of being sent to Egypt. The Arabic version was added to render the Coptic more intelligible; for that language, it appears, is little understood by the Copts themselves.—Ibid. vol. i. p. 282.

The Song of Songs, in Ethiopic, Arabic, and Latin, with Notes by John George Nisselius. Leyden, 1656. Le Long, tom. i. p. 44.

The New Testament in Arabic, edited by Thomas Erpenius, from the Scaliger MS. Leyden. 1616. Ibid. tom. i. p. 125.

The New Testament in Syriac and Arabic, folio. Rome, 1703. Printed by the congregation *de propaganda fide*. Bib. Dict. vol. vi.

The New Testament in Arabic, London, 1727, quarto.

This edition, consisting of ten thousand copies, was printed at the expence of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, under the superintendence of Solomon Negri; and copies of it have been sent, from time to time, for distribution in the East, particularly to the Danish missionaries in India.—Ibid. vol. vi. p. 204.

The Four Gospels in Arabic, without points, beautifully printed, and adorned with wood cuts, folio. Rome, 1591. Ibid. vol. vi. p. 205.

The Four Gospels in Arabic, printed at the expence of Athanasius, the Antiochan patriarch of the Greeks, folio, Aleppo, 1706. Le Long, tom. i. p. 126.

The Gospel according to Matthew in Arabic, edited by D. J. H. Callenberg, Halle, 1741.

The Acts of the Apostles in Arabic, edited by D. J. H. Callenberg, Halle, 1742.

The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, edited by D. J. H. Callenberg, Halle, 1741.

The Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews, edited, by D. J. H. Callenberg, Halle, 1742.

These editions of the Gospel of Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews, were a transcript of the London Polyglott, and were printed at the press of the Jewish Institution at Halle, and sent for distribution in the East, particularly to the Danish missionaries in India.—Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 206.

The Epistles to the Galatians in Arabic, from a MS. in the Heidelberg Library, quarto, Heidelberg, 1583.

The Epistle to Titus in Arabic, with an interlinear, Latin version, by John Antonidas, quarto, 1612. Le Long, tom. i. p. 126.

The Epistles of James, John, and Jude, in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Latin, with notes, by Nisselius and Petræus, quarto, Leyden, 1654. Ibid. tom. i. p. 46.

The Epistle of James in Arabic, with a Latin translation, by Nicolas Panecius, quarto, Witteberg, 1594.

The Epistles of John in Arabic and Latin, by Jonas Hambræus, 16mo. Paris, 1630.

The Epistle of Jude, edited from an ancient Heidelberg MS. folio, Breslaw, 1611. Ibid. tom. i. p. 126.

The Apocalypse of John in Arabic. A printed copy among the codices in the Bodleian Library. Ibid. tom. i. p. 127.

The New Testament translated into Arabic, by Nathaniel Sabat, under the superintendence of the late Rev. Henry Martyn of Cawnpore, MS.

Sabat was a native of Arabia, who had embraced Christianity; and in consequence of this, he was employed to make a translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Arabic language. He was educated, it is said, under the care of the most learned man in Bagdad, and his attainments, as a scholar, are represented as very considerable.—Report. Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1811, Append. p. 24. After completing the New Tes-

tament, he began a translation of the Old; and, according to the latest accounts, he had completed the Pentateuch and a great part of the Psalms; (Ibid. 1812, p. 13. Ibid. 1813, Append. p. 86.) but since that time he has relinquished the work. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 62.

ARAWACK.

Harmony of the Four Gospels in Arawack, the language of the Indians at Hope, on the river Corentyn, in South America, by the Moravian missionaries, MS. Moravian Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 98.

ASSAM.

The New Testament in the Assam language, translating by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Baptist Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 43.

BALOCH.

The Gospel according to Mark in Baloch, MS. See AFGHAN.

BENGALEE.

The New Testament in Bengalee by William Carey, D. D. one of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, and professor of Bengalee, Mahratta, and Sungskrit, in the college of Fort William.

The first edition of this work was printed at Serampore in 1801: since that time it has proceeded to a third edition, which, according to the latest accounts, was already nearly circulated.—Baptist Period. Accounts, vol. ii. and vol. v. p. 42.

The Old Testament in Bengalee, by William Carey, D. D. in four volumes, octavo.

The first volume of this work, containing the Pentateuch, was published in 1802; the second, containing the Hagiographia, in 1803; the third, containg the Prophetical books, in 1807; and the last, containing the Historical books, in 1809.—Memoir addressed to the Baptist Missionary Society, relative to the Translation of the Sacred Scriptures. Baptist Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 58.*

* We are informed that Antonio, a Roman Catholic Missionary at Boglepoor, on the Ganges, has translated the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles into the languages of that district. Marsh's History of the Translations of the Scriptures, p. 108. Whether the language here alluded to is the Bengalee, we do not know.

BILOCHEE.

The New Testament translating into Bilochee, the language which is spoken in the country that lies on the western shore of the Indus, and separates India from Persia; by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Baptist Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 61.

BRAZILIAN.

The Old and New Testament, translated into the Brazilian language, by an English minister. Le Long Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 448.

BUGIS.

The Gospel according to Mark in Bugis, MS. See AFGHAN.

The Bugis and Macassar are the languages of two of the most noble and enterprising nations of the East, though they are far from being equally numerous. They are the original languages of the island of Celebes; but are spoken in the Bugis and Macassar settlements on Borneo and several other islands, which are generally comprehended under the name of the Malay Archipelago.—Report. Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 77.

BURMAN.

The Collects, Gospels, and Epistles, according to the Ritual of the Church of Rome, in Burman. Transactions of the Missionary Society, vol. iii. p. 372.

Scripture Extracts in Burman.

The Baptist missionaries at Serampore have printed two small works in Burman, consisting of Scripture extracts. The largest of these contains an account of the creation of the world, and the fall of man, the prophecies concerning Christ, the life and death of our Saviour, the last judgment, &c.—Baptist Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 257.

The New Testament in Burman, translating by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Ibid. vol. v. p. 48.

CALMUCK.

J. Maltsch, one of the United Brethren at Serepta, translated a great part of the Gospels into Calmuck; but as his acquaintance with the language was imperfect, the work is probably of no great value. Moravian Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 192, 193.

Some parts of the Gospels, &c. have also been translated into Calmuck, chiefly by Conrad Neitz, another of the Brethren. These are represented as very correct. Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1808, p. 29.

The Gospel according to Matthew, in Calmuck, by Isaac. Jacob Schmidt, one of the Brethren late of Sarepta, MS.

This work is ready for the press, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, being satisfied of the competency of the translator, have encouraged him to proceed in translating the whole of the New-Testament.—Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1813, p. 33. App. p. 16.

CASHMIRE.

The New Testament, in the Cashmire language, translating by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Baptist Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 43.

CHINESE.

The Psalter in Chinese, as part of the Romish Breviary, translated by Louis Buglio.

The Gospels and Epistles for the whole year, in Chinese, forming part of the Romish Missal, translated by Louis Buglio.

The Dominical Gospels for the whole year, by Emmanuel Dias, with his Commentaries, 14 volumes.

Sentences from the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, for each day of the year, in Chinese, by James Rho.

The Lord's Prayer, in Chinese, with a Latin version, and the notes of Andrew Muller, quarto, 1676. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. p. 145.

The Lord's Prayer, in Chinese, with the English translation, by Robert Morrison, printed in the Evangelical Magazine, vol. xxi.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Paul, and the first chapter of the Hebrews, in Chinese, MS.

We are acquainted with three copies of this valuable manuscript. One in the British Museum in folio, lettered by mistake *Evangelia Quatuor Sinice;* a second in the library of Greenwich Observatory, which, in respect of beauty of paper and writing, is much inferior to the copy in the British Museum, but it has the points used in China, which the other wants; and a third was transcribed by Young Saam Tak, a native of China, and was carried by Mr. Morrison to that coun-

try, with the view of assisting him in making a translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese language. Mosely's Memoir on the Importance and Practibility of Translating the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese, 2d Edit. p. 20.—Evangelical Magazine, vol. ix. p. 445, Missionary Transactions, vol. iii. p. 340.

The Acts of the Apostles, in Chinese, by Robert Morrison, Canton, 1810.

The Gospel according to Luke, in Chinese, by Robert Morrison, Canton, 1811.

Besides these, Mr. Morrison, by the latest accounts, had in the press the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Thessalonians, Timothy and Titus, also the Epistles of Peter and James, and a second edition of the Acts of the Apostles, corrected, with the verses annexed.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 397. Whether all these are newly translated by Mr. Morrison, or whether they are in part taken from the manuscript which he carried out with him, we do not certainly know.

The New Testament, in the Chinese language, by Mr. John Lassar, from Macao, and Joshua Marshman, D. D. one of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore.

The translation is completed, and in August 1812, the Gospel according to John was in press.

The Old Testament in the Chinese language, translating by Mr. John Lassar, and Joshua Marshman, D. D. Baptist Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 42.

CINGALESE.

The Four Gospels in Cingalese, Columbo, 1739, quarto.

The Psalms of David in Cingalese, 1756, octavo.

The Psalms of David, with musical notes, and the Cingalese text interlined, 1763.

The Acts of the Apostles in Cingalese, Columbo, 1771, quarto. Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 286.

The New Testament in Cingalese, Columbo, 1783.

The Books of Genesis, Exodus, and part of Leviticus, Columbo, 1783. Report Brit. and For Bib. Soc. 1810, Append. p. 86.

The Old Testament to the book of Job, by a native clergyman of the name of Philips, MS.

This manuscript is deposited among the archives of the Dutch church at Columbo; but on examination it was found to be deficient in many places. The Rev. Mr. Giffening, a Dutch minister born in Ceylon, and versed in the Cingalese language, has lately undertaken to revise and complete the translation.—Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1813, App. p. 18.

CREOLE.

The New Testament in Creole, Copenhagen, 1781. Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1811, Append. p. 131.

ESQUIMAUX.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, in Esquimaux, by the Moravian missionaries, printed. Moravian Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 23.

The Gospel according to John, in Esquimaux, by the Moravian missionaries, 1810.

The Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, by the Moravian missionaries, 1813.

Besides these, the missionaries have translated into Esquimaux, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to the Romans the Corinthians, and the Ephesians, and it is expected that in a few years they will complete a version of the whole New Testament.—Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1810, p. 42. Ibid. 1811, p 23, Append. p. 70. Ibid. 1812, Append. p. 43. Ibid. 1813, p. 36. Moravian Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 402.

FORMOSAN.

The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John in the Formosan language, with a Dutch version, by Daniel Gravius, Amsterdam, 1661, quarto. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. p. 145.

GREENLAND.

The New Testament in the Greenland language, by Paul Egede.

The New Testament in the Greenland language, by—— Fabricus, another of the Danish missionaries, Copenhagen, 1799.

Both these translations have been printed, but they are so imperfect, that they are not understood by the people. MS. Accounts in the author's possession.

Harmony of the Four Gospels, by the Moravian missionaries. Moravian Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 23.

Besides the Harmony of the Gospels, which the Brethren translated a few years after their settlement in Greenland, and which has since been printed, they have translated the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of Paul, and such portions of the Old Testament as they judged most necessary for the Christian converts. These are still in manuscript; but the British and Foreign Bible Society have offered to be at

the expense of printing them, a proposal which we hope will soon be carried into effect. MS. Accounts in the author's possession.

GUZERATTEE.

The New Testament translated into Guzerattee, by the Baptist missionaries, at Serampore.

This work was completed some years ago, and the printing of it was begun; but it has since been stopped, in consequence of the inadequacy of their funds. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 244. vol. v. Preface p. 7.

HINDOSTANEE.

The four first chapters of Genesis in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schulz, one of the Danish missionaries in India, Halle, 1745, octavo.

The Psalms of David in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schulz, Halle, 1747, octavo.

The Book of Daniel in Hindostanee, by Benjamin Schulz, Halle, 1748, octavo.

The New Testament in Hindostance, by Benjamin Schulz, Halle, 1758, octavo.

This work was completed in 1758; but several of the books were previously published separately. It was printed in the Persic character. Bib. Dic. vol. i. p. 285; vol. vi. p. 222.

The Four Gospels, translated into Hindostanee, by learned natives, and collated with the original Greek, by William Hunter, Esq. Calcutta, 1804. Marsh's History of the Translations of the Scriptures, p. 38, 67.

The New Testament in Hindostanee, by William Carey, D. D. Serampore, 1811. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 384.

The Old Testament in Hindostanee, translating by William Carey, D. D. Ibid. vol. v. p. 43.

The Gospels, translated into the Brij Bhasha, a peculiar dialect of Hindostanee, spoken in the neighbourhood of Agra, by John Chamberlaine, one of the Baptist missionaries. Ibid. vol. v. p. 61.

The New Testament translated into Hindostanee, by Mirza Fitrut, a learned native, under the superintendence of the late Rev. Henry Martyn of Cawnpore.

This work is in the press; and the translator, after finishing the New Testament, began a translation of the Old, and according to the last accounts, had finished the Pentateuch.—Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1811, p. 23. Ibid. 1812, p. 13. Append. p. 75. Ibid. 1813, Append. p. 85.

The Hindostanee language has admitted, perhaps a greater number of foreign words into it, than any other of the dialects of India. The mixture is so great, as to render at least two different translations absolutely necessary; one which draws principally on the Persian and Arabic languages, for a supply of different words; another which has recourse in the same manner to the Sungskrit. Mr. Hunter's Translation of the Four Gospels, was into the former of these dialects, and was in many places perfectly unintelligible to Sungskrit pundits. That by Dr. Carey was into the latter, and is probably as little understood by Mussulman monshees. Memoir relative to the Translations of the Scriptures, addressed to the Baptist Missionary Society, p. 10. Bapt. Period. Accounts. The translation which Mr. Martyn superintended was understood chiefly by the learned, particularly Mussulmen, (MS. Accounts,) and therefore we suppose it was into the same dialect as Mr. Hunter's.

KURNATA.

The New Testament in Kurnata, translating by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 43.

The New Testament in Kurnata, translating by Mr. Hands, at Belhary, where the language is spoken. Report of the Missionary Society, 1813, p. 11, 26.

LAPPONESE.

The Lapponese Manuel, containing the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, the Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, with the history of the passion of Christ, &c. by John Tornæus, Stockholm, 1648.

Lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, the history of Christ's passion, &c. in the Lapponese language, by Olaus Stephan Graan, Stockholm, 1669. Scheffer's History of Lapland, p. 69.

The New Testament in Lapponese, 1755. Missionary Magazine, vol. xiv. p. 377.

MACASSAR.

The Gospel according to Mark, in Macassar, MS. See Afghan and Bugis.

MAHRATTA.

The New Testament in the Mahratta language, by the Baptist missionaries, Serampore, 1811. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 384.

The Old Testament in the Mahratta language, translating and printing, by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Ibid. vol. v. p. 43.

MALAY.

The Gospels according to Matthew and Mark in Malay, In Arabic characters, with the Dutch version, by Albert Cornelius Ruyl, quarto, Enchusa, 1629, Amsterdam, 1638.

The Gospels according to Luke and John in Malay, with the Dutch version, by John Van Hasel, revised and corrected by Justus Heurn. Printed by the command, and at the expence of the directors of the East India Company, quarto, Amsterdam, 1646.

The Four Gospels in Malay, according to the Dutch translation of the year 1637, and the Acts of the Apostles, by Justus Heurn, quarto, Amsterdam, 1651. Le Long Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. p. 144.

This is a corrected edition of the translations by Ruyl and Hasel, with the addition of Heurn's own version of the Acts of the Apostles.—Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 225.

The New Testament in Malay, by Daniel Brower, printed by the command, and at the expence of the East India company, Amsterdam, 1668. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. p. 144.

The Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in Malay, quarto, Oxford, 1677.

This edition was taken from Heurn's, and printed at the expense of the honourable Mr. Boyle; but as it was in Roman characters, it could be of little use to those for whom it was designed.—Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 225.

The Book of Genesis in Malay, by Daniel Brower, with the Dutch version, according to the translation of the year 1637, quarto, Amsterdam, 1662. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, vol i. p. 144.

The Psalter in Malay and Dutch, by John Van Hasel and Justus Heurn, quarto, Amsterdam, 1689.

Ukka Wlu' Ldjadid, Ija Ita Segula Surat Perdjandjian Baharuw Atas Titah Segola Tuwan Pemmarentah Kompania, 1731, quarto. Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 283.

The Old and New Testament in Malay, Amsterdam, 1733.

This, as well as the former work, was printed in Roman characters. Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 188.

The Psalter in Malay, with musical notes, quarto, Amsterdam, 1735. Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 284.

The Old and New Testament in Malay, in five volumes, Batavia, 1758.

This was the version of 1733, in Arabic characters, with the addition of the peculiar Malay letters. It was published by the direction of Jacob Mossel, governor-general of the Dutch possessions in the East; and was superintended by John Mauritz Mohr and Herman Peter Van de Werk. Asiatic Researches, vol. x. p. 188.

The Gospels in Malay, by Thomas Jarret, Esq. Marsh's History of the Translations of the Scriptures, p. 39.

The preceeding versions by the Dutch, we are informed by Dr. Buchanan, is in the Eastern Malay, which is materially different from the Western or that of Sumatra. Soon after the institution of the college of fort William, Mr. Jarret was employed in preparing a version of the Holy Scriptures into the Western Malay, an undertaking for which he was well qualified, having resided twelve years in Sumatra. When the progress of the Biblical translations was interrupted in the college, he continued to prosecute the work at Madras, and he had as an assistant a learned Malay of high rank, who came from Sumatra for the purpose. But to what extent he has carried the work we do not know. Buchanan's Researches, p. 91. Buchanan's Apology for Promoting Christianity in India, p. 71.

MALDIVIAN.

The Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke; and John. Part II. in Maldivian, MS. See AFGHAN.

The Maldivian language is spoken in the large Archipelago of Maldive islands to the south west of Ceylon. The nation which inhabit them is numerous and enterprising; the rulers are generally Moslems, the subjects Pagans. The character is original, but the language has a distant relation to the Cingalese.—Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1811, Append. p. 77.

The New Testament translating into Maldivian, by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 61.

MEXICAN.

The Proverbs of Solomon, and many other Fragments of Holy writ, in the Mexican language, by Louis Rodrigues.

The Epistles and Gospels in the Mexican language, by one of the order of St. Mary, who died, 1579. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 448.

MIXTECAN.

The Epistles and Gospels in Mixtecan, the vulgar language of New Spain, by Benedict Ferdinand, who flourished about 1568.

The Epistles and Gospels in the idiom which is spoken by the Western Indians, translated by Arnold a Bosaccio. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 448.

NEPALESE.

The New Testament, translating into Nepalese by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 61

ORISSA.

The New Testament in the Orissa language, by the Baptist missionaries, Serampore, 1809. Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 58.

The Old Testament in the Orissa language, translating and printing by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore Ibid. vol. v. p. 42.

PERSIC.

The Hebrew Pentateuch, with a Persic Translation in the Hebrew character, in alternate verses, in two volumes, folio, MS. *Bibl. Colbertina cod.* 2468, 2469. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 58.

The Pentateuch in Persic, in the Persian character, with vowel points, taken from the Constantinople edition, MS.

The same version of the Pentateuch, in Hebrew characters, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod.* 8639.

The books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Ezra, and Nehemiah, in Persic, in the Hebrew character, MS. *Bibl. Colbertina cod.* 4602.

The four books of Kings, in Persic, in the Hebrew character, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4601.

The book of Job, in Persic, in the Hebrew character, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4606, 4607, 4608.

The books of Solomon, Esther, and Ruth, in Persic, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4605.

The books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, in Persic, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4609, 4610.

The book of Daniel, in Persic, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4603, 4604.

The twelve minor Prophets, in Persic, MS. *Ibid. cod.* 4610.

The Psalms, in Persic, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod.* 437, 3928.

The Psalms in Persic, MS. *Bibl. Vindob. cod,* 49, *de Nissel.*

The Psalms in Persic, from the Latin, MS. *Oxonii in Bibl. Collegii S. Joannis cod.* 15, 16. *Num.* 1753, 1754.

The Psalms in Persic, from the Vulgate, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod.* 3776.

The Psalms in Persic, from the Latin, by some Jesuits, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod.* 3044.

The Psalms in Persic, with various readings from two other copies, by John Baptist Vecchietti, a Florentine, in the year 1601, MS.

The books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Baruch, in Persic, MS.

The Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, in Persic, MS.

The Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, in Persic, written in the Hebrew character, MS.

The book of Esther, in Persic, written in the Hebrew character, MS.

The Four Gospels, in Persic, MS. beautifully written.

The last six manuscripts were formerly in the library of the learned Renaudot.

The New Testament, in Persic, MS. *Bibl. Lambethana.*

The Gospels in Persic, MS.

The Four Gospels in Persic, from the Syriac, by Simon, a Persian Christian, according to Dr. Hyde, MS. *Bibl. Boodleiana cod.* 5453. A.

The Four Gospels in Persic, with a Latin Exposition, MS.

The Four Gospels in Persic, MS. *Cantabrigiæi. Bibl. Collegii Emanuelis cod.* 64. B.

The Four Gospels in Persic, MS. *Bibl. Bodleiana cod.* 395.

The Four Gospels in Persic, MS. *Bibl. Leidensis cod. Warneriana,* 291, 671, 701, p. 410. *Catalologi in folio.*

The Gospel of Christ in Persic, MS. *Bibliotheca Vindobonensis cod.* 49, *de Nissel.*

The Four Gospels in Persic, MS.

The Gospel according to Matthew in Persic, MS. *Biblioth. Medicæ Palatia cod.* 17. *D'Herbelot* Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 132.

The Pentateuch in Persic, in the Hebrew character, translated by Rabbi Jacob, a Jew, for the use of his brethren residing in Persia. Constantinople, 1546.

This was printed in a Polyglott edition of the Pentateuch, which was published at Constantinople in 1546, or, as is sometimes said, 1551; and which, besides the Persic version, contained the five books of Moses, in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic.—Ibid. tom. i. p. 41, 134

The Pentateuch and the Four Gospels in Persic, in the London Polyglott. London, 1657.

The Pentateuch, as printed in the London Polyglott, is a copy of Rabbi Jacob's version, but it is printed in Persic, not in Hebrew characters. The Four Gospels are taken from the MS. of Simon in the Bodleian Library, which we have marked above, A. This version, according to Walton, is the most ancient and the best we possess; but by others it is said to be very incorrect, and of little use. Ibid. tom. i. p. 132, 133, 134. Encyclopædia Britannica, Article Bible.

The Four Gospels in Persic, folio, London, 1657.

This edition was printed from the Cambridge MS. which we have marked above, B. and which is a translation, not from the Greek, but the Syriac. The publication of it was begun by Abraham Wheelock, professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, but he did not live to finish it. It was completed, however, by Mr. Pierson. Ibid. tom. i. p. 134; Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 226.

The Four Gospels in Persic, translated by order of Nadir Shah. MS.

It is a curious fact, that in the year 1740, Nadir Shah, the usurper of the throne of Persia, who is so distinguished for his cruelties, ordered a translation of the Four Gospels to be made into the Persic language; but the work was completely bungled through the negligence and unfaithfulness of those who were employed in it. They were only six months in completing the translation, and transcribing several fair copies of it; and they dressed it up with all the foolish glosses which the fables of the Koran could warrant. Their chief guide was an ancient Arabic and Persic version. Hanway's Travels, vol. ii. p. 404.

The Gospel according to Luke, in Persic, Halle, 1744. Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 227.

Twenty chapters of the Gospel according to Matthew, by the late William Chambers, Esq. of Calcutta. Proceedings of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, vol. i.

That part of this translation which contains our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, has been printed. Bib. Dict. vol. vi. p. 227.

The Gospels in Persic, by lieutenant colonel Colebrooke, late surveyor-general of Bengal, Calcutta, 1804. Marsh's History of the Translations of the Scriptures, p. 39, 77,

The New Testament; translating into Persic, by Nathaniel Sabat, under the superintendence of the Rev. Henry Martyn of Cawnpore,

Whether Sabat completed this work we are uncertain. In December 1809, he had advanced to the end of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; but his version does not appear to have given satisfaction, and has not been printed. Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1811, Append. p. 24, 74. Ibid. 1813, Append. p. 86.

The New Testament, translating into Persic, by the Rev. L. Sebastiana.

This version was intended for the use of the Christians dispersed over Persia, who are represented as very desirous of possessing a plain intelligible translation of the Holy Scriptures. Sebastiana was many years resident at the court of Persia, and made his translation immediately from the Greek. Report. Brit. and For Bib. Soc. 1812, p. 13, Append. p. 71.

The New Testament, in Persic, by the late Rev. Henry Martyn of Cawnpore. Report. Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1813, Append. p. 86.

Whether this translation is entirely distinct from Sabat's we do not know.

PORTUGUESE.

The Pentateuch in Portuguese, edited by the Jews of Amsterdam. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. p. 368.

The New Testament in Portuguese, translated at Batavia by some Dutch ministers.

As the first edition of this translation was very incorrect, it was sent to Amsterdam, where, after being revised, it was again printed in 1681. Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part II. p. 14.

The New Testament in Portuguese, by John Ferreira d'Almeida.

The author of this work was a native of Portugal, who, though educated a Roman Catholic, embraced the Reformed Religion. Niecampii Historia Missionis Evangelicæ in India Orientali, p. 155.

The Old Testament in Portuguese, begun by John Ferreira d'Almeida, and completed by James Op Den Akker, one of the Dutch ministers of Batavia. Ibid. p. 273, 275, 360.

The Old Testament in Portuguese, by the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar. Ibid.

SARAMECA.

Harmony of the Four Gospels in Sarameca, the language spoken by the Free Negroes at Bambey, in South America, by the Moravian missionaries, MS. Moravian Period. Accounts. vol. iii. p. 59.

SHIKH.

The New Testament in the Shikh language, translating and printing by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Baptist Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 43.

SUNGSKRIT.

The New Testament in the Sungskrit language, by William Carey, D. D. one of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, and professor of Bengalee, Mahratta, and Sungskrit, in the college of fort William, Serampore, 1809. Baptist Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 58.

The Old Testament in the Sungskrit language, translating by William Carey, D. D. Ibid. vol. v. p. 42.

TAMUL.

The Gospel of Matthew, translated from the Portuguese into Tamul, by Francis de Fonseca. Baldæus' Description of the Coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon, in Churchhill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. iii. p. 719.

The New Testament in Tamul, by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 1715, quarto. Niecampii Historia Missionis Evangelicæ in India Orientali, p. 183.

The Old Testament in Tamul, by Barthalomew Ziegenbalg and Benjamin Schulz, Tranquebar, 1727, quarto.

This work was originally published in three parts; the first of which containing the five books of Moses, Joshua, and Judges, was published in 1720; the second, containing from Ruth to the prophetical books, in 1726; the third, containing the prophetical books, in 1727; and in the following year, these were succeeded by the Apocryphal books. Ibid. p. 224, 272, 287, 311.

The New Testament in Tamul, Columbo, 1743, quarto.

This work was printed in Ceylon, under the auspices of the Dutch governor. Bib. Dict. vol. i. p. 285. Whether it is a distinct translation from Ziegenbalg's, we do not know.

The New Testament in Tamul, by John Philip Fabricius, one of the Danish missionaries in India Madras, 1777.

Fabricius, the author of this work, is described as an unparalleled Tamul scholar; and his translation is represented as much more classical and elegant than that of Ziegenbalg, though it also is faithful enough. Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1805, p. 56. Ibid. 1811, Append. p. 19.

TELINGA.

The Old and New Testament, together with the Apocrypha, in Telinga, by Benjamin Schulz. Niecampii Historia Missionis Evangelicæ in India Orientali, p. 296, 365.

This work, we suppose, was never printed. It is probable the manuscript was carried by the author to Halle; in Saxony, and deposited in the Orphan House Library.

several Books in the New Testament in the Telinga language, by captain Dodds.

Captain Dodds, a nephew to the late Dr. Caverhill, a physician in London; began a translation of the New Testament into the Telinga language; but he died in September 1795, before the work was completed. Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 284.

The Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in Telinga, by Augustus Des Granges, assisted by Anundarayer, a Christian Brahmin, Serampore, 1812.

Besides translating these three Gospels, Mr. Des Granges had completed, previous to his death, a first copy of the Gospel according to John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Report Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1811, p. 114, 116. Ibid. 1812, p. 13.

The New Testament in Telinga, translating and printing by the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. Baptist Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 43.

TURKISH.

The Old Testament in Turkish, written in the Hebrew character for the use of the Jews.

The Bible translated into the Turkish language, by John Ungnadius.

The Bible, in the Turkish language, MS. *Fuit. olim Bibl. Monachiensis. Bibl. Vinariensis.*

The Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, translated from the Hebrew into Turkish, MS. *Bibl. Leidensis Codex*, p. 386. *Warneriana*, p. 409. *Catalogi in folio.* Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. i. p. 135.

The Bible translated into the Turkish language, by Hali Beigh, MS.

Hali Beigh, first interpreter at the Grand Seignior's court in the 17th century, was born of Christian parents in Poland; but having been taken by the Tartars when he was young, he was sold by them to the Turks, who brought him up in their religion in the seraglio. Besides writing various other works, particularly a Grammar and Dictionary of the Turkish language, he translated the whole of the Bible into the Turkish language, for Levinus Warner, who sent it to Leyden that it might be printed, where the MS. is still preserved in the public library. *Bibl. Leidensis cod.* p. 390, 391. *Warneri Ibid. cod.* 1101, p. 410. *Catalogi in folio.* Hali Beigh proposed returing into the bosom of the Christian church, but he died before he accomplished his design. Le Long, tom. i. p. 36. Encyclopædia Britannica, Art. Hall Beigh.

The Psalms of David, in Turkish, according to the translation of the Hali Beigh, MS. formerly in the possession of Dr. Hyde.

The Gospels according to Matthew and John, in Turkish, written at Ispaham in Roman characters, by M. De Lauziere, MS. *In Bibl. Upsaliensi* Le Long, tom. i. p. 136.

The New Testament in Turkish, by Lazarus Seaman, quarto, Oxford, 1666.

This work was published, we believe, at the expence of the English Turkey Company. It was sent into the East, and proved a most acceptable present to the Christians in that part of the world. Fabricii Lux Evangelii, p. 596. We understand it is an excellent translation.

The New Testament in Turkish, by Henry Brunton, Karass, 1813. Religious Monitor, vol. xiii. p. 308.

This translation is into the language of the Nogoy Tartars, which is nearly the same with the Kazan, Bucharian, and Truckmanian, and is a particular dialect of the Turkish. In making it, Mr. Brunton derived essential assistance from Dr. Seaman's translation; but still it is probable, his version would be considered as barbarous at Constantinople.

The Gospel according to Luke, in Turkish.

The Acts of the Apostles, in the Turkish.

The Epistle to the Romans, in Turkish.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, in Turkish.

The First Epistle of John, with the beginning of his Gospel, in Turkish.

These were all taken from Seaman's translation, and were printed by Callenberg, at the Jewish Institution at Halle, in Saxony, for the purpose of being sent into Turkey. Marsh's History of the Translations of the Scriptures, p. 9, 80.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GOSPEL

INTO

THE BRITISH ISLES.*

Christian Friends, and Brethren,

AS we are met together to consult how we may most effectually communicate the blessings of the Gospel to those nations and people who are destitute of this heavenly treasure; it may not be amiss to enquire *how* we ourselves became possessed of so great a gift: and by what *means*, and at what *time*, our happy country, once full of gross darkness, became illuminated by this Divine light?

The information we have on these points comes, partly from *tradition*, and partly from *authentic history*. The latter does not reach so *high* as the former; nor is it so *circumstantial;* but they have been in early times so blended with each other, that with some, the *genuine history* has been confounded with *uncertain traditions*, and so rejected: and the *tradition* has been by others, taken for *authentic history*, and all its extravagance adopted. In these circumstances, we find it difficult to discern truth from falsehood; and are obliged to go to writers of other countries, for that information which we are afraid to receive from those of our own.

Where, however, the voice of *tradition* has been strong, unvarying and continued; it is reasonable to suppose that it

* This account of the Introduction of the Gospel into Great Britain, was given by Dr. A. Clarke; in an Address delivered in London, on Thursday evening, December 1st, 1814, at the formation of a *Missionary Society* among the people called Methodists, in that city.

contains, at least, the *outlines* of truth: and it would be as absurd to reject all it utters, as it would be dangerous to receive all its amplifications and details.

1. The *tradition* which is of the highest antiquity, and has been the most generally received by our ancient historians, and by the nation at large, is that which attributes the introduction of the Word of Life into Britain, to Joseph of Arimathea. The substance of this history is as follows:

About 63 years after the incarnation of our Lord, and 30 after his ascension, Joseph of Arimathea, who had buried our Lord's body in his own tomb, was furnished by Philip the Evangelist, with eleven disciples, and sent into Britain to introduce the Gospel of Christ in place of the barbarous rites of the Druids. With these rites, as well as with the people, the Roman empire had become well acquainted through the writings of Julius Cæsar.

These holy men, on their landing, applied to *Arviragus*, a British king, for permission to settle in a rude and uncultivated spot, called *Ynswytryn* by the British, *Avalonia* by the Romans, and *Glæsting-byrig* by the Saxons; and is still known by the name of *Glastonbury*. Their petition was granted, and *twelve hides* of land were assigned for their support; and the place is to this day, denominated the *twelve hydes of Glaston*. Here, according to this tradition, the standard of the Cross was first erected; and a chapel made of *wicker-work*, was the first church, or oratory, of God in Britain! See Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Vol. I.

How famous this place became afterwards, it is not necessary here to enquire; nor shall I stop to mention, much less confute, the silly legends that have been so connected with this tradition as to render the whole almost incredible.

Allowing the main circumstances to be true; we find from this earliest tradition, that the first establishment of Christianity in this country, was owing, under God, to the exertions of *Missionaries:* a subject that will gain increasing light as we descend with tradition and history.

2. It is not to be supposed that these first labourers would be left long without help, as Christianity was making the most rapid progress in every part of the Roman empire; and a considerable connexion subsisted at that time, between the Roman government and the British Isles:—The Romans kept up this intercourse, principally for the sake of extending their conquests, and establishing those which they had already made: but such was the *divided* and *distracted* state of Britain, that the Gospel was not at all likely to get any *general* footing, as, in many cases, there was scarcely any communication between the different districts of the same country.

3. That the conquests of the Romans were extended in this island, in the apostolic age, we know to be a fact sufficiently ascertained by history; and particularly under the emperor Claudius, who came here in person about A. D. 43; and an ancient *inscription* has given some learned men cause to believe that the Gospel was first introduced by a Christian lady, named *Pomponia*, wife to *Plautius*, one of the generals of the Roman emperor; who is supposed to have made the Christian doctrine known to her domestics, and the whole circle of her acquaintance, whilst resident in Britain.

4. That *St. Paul* meditated the conversion of the whole world; and proposed to carry the glad tidings of Christ crucified every where, his own history sufficiently proves. We need not, therefore, wonder to find *his* name in the traditionary records, among those who first planted the Gospel in Britain. *St. Clement*, who was contemporary with this apostle, and whose epistles are still preserved, and are an invaluable record of the remotest Christian antiquity, (if his words be not misunderstood,) is supposed to assert the fact. The passage to which I refer, is in the fifth chapter of his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where, speaking of St. Paul, he has these words, κηρυξ γινομενος εν τη ανατολη και εν τη δυσει—δικαιοσυνην διδαξας ολον τον κοσμον και επι το τερμα της δυσεως. *He*

became a Herald to the East and to the West; he taught the whole world righteousness, coming even to the BOUNDARIES *of the* WEST. By the words τερμα της δυσεως, *the boundaries of the West*, Bishop Stillingfleet strongly argues, that Britain alone is intended; though others suppose, that *Clement* refers to *Spain*.

5. To St. *Peter*, and to *Aristobulus*, one of the domestics of the Roman emperor, mentioned, Rom. xvi. 20. this honour has also been given, but on more dubious evidence, which it is not necessary here to produce.

6. That this nation was converted to the faith of Christ by those who had been *disciples of our Lord*, was the early and constant belief of our forefathers. This runs through all our *histories*, and even through some of our *regal acts*. In the *charter* granted by Henry II. in the Year of our Lord 1185, for the rebuilding of Glastonbury Church, which had been burnt; it is styled "*mater sanctorum tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini edificatam*," "the mother and burying place of the saints, founded by the *very disciples of our Lord;*" and adds, *venerabilis habet antiquorum, authoritas*, "it has the venerable authority of the ancients." In the same charter he adds, *qua fons et origo totius religionis Angliæ pro certo habetur;* "which is incontrovertibly acknowledged to be the fountain and origin of the whole religion of England." This church was the *head* of all ecclesiastical authority in these nations, till the year 1154, when Pope *Adrian* IV. transferred that honour to St. *Albans*.

7. The story of *Lucius*, king of Britain, who in A. D. 156, is said by the *Venerable Bede*, to have embraced the Christian faith, and who is called the *first Christian king;* is generally known. Bede says that this king wrote a letter to *Eleutherus*, Bishop of Rome, praying that he might be instructed in the Christain faith; which was accordingly done. See *Bedæ* Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 4. *Salutaris lux Evangelii, a Fabricio*, p. 406.

This is the most uncertain of all the traditions which we have relative to this important event: and were we to suppose, that the Christian religion was *first* introduced here under the auspices of a *king* we should then have *one solitary* proof that God had departed from his general way of disseminating His truth among mankind; which is *beginning with the* LEAST, *and going to the* GREATEST: not beginning with *kings*, and then proceeding to their *subjects:*—but to hide pride from man, converting the *lowest* even of the subjects; and by their means, converting the *kings* themselves. The truth seems to be this, that although Christianity was introduced here long before the time of *Lucius;* yet, Lucius knowing the Christian religion, and finding the means of propagating it in his own district were very inadequate, might send to *Eleutherus*, for additional help; and from this, the zealous Romanists might take occasion to say, that king *Lucius* was converted by Roman missionaries.

On reviewing all these alleged authorities for the *early* introduction of Christianity into this country; it may be said, "The traditions themselves render the thing uncertain and incredible; the same fact being attributed to so many different persons." I confess that this objection has, with me, no weight: different persons may be consistently enough said to have introduced the Gospel into different parts of the island; some in the *North*, some in the *South*, some in the *West*, and some in the *East:* for, such were the divisions and government of the Britons in those ancient times, that Christianity might have a firm footing in the *isle* of *Avalon*, without being known in the *isle* of *Thanet;* and he who brought it first to *Kent*, might suppose himself the introducer of Christianity into England, though it had existed long before in *Somerset.*

Having gone, as far as I judge necessary, through *traditions* which must be allowed to be less or more uncertain, though by no means to be disregarded; I shall come now to *positive testimony*, which is incapable of being suspected;

and which will prove that Christianity had an establishment here, long before the Romish Church pretends to have given our countrymen the blessings of the Gospel.

1. The *first* decisive testimony I meet with is in TERTULLIAN, who flourished nearest to the *apostles*, about the middle of the *second* century. In his book *Adversus Judæos*, cap. 7. *De Natvitate Christi*, speaking on the words of David, Psal. xix. 4. *Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.* "In whom," says he, "have all the nations of the earth believed, but in *Christ?* Not only Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya and Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, and the other nations; '*etiam Hispaniarum omnes termini, et Galliarum diversæ nationes, et* Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, *Christo vero subdita*,' &c. but also all the boundaries of the Spaniards, all the different nations of the Gauls, and *those parts of* BRITAIN which were inaccessible to the Romans, are become subject to Christ."—This is another proof that the Gospel was established here before the middle of the *second* century; and how long *before*, we cannot pretend to say.

2. The *second* testimony which I shall produce is that of ORIGEN, who flourished about A. D. 220. In his *fourth Homily* on *Ezekiel*, speaking of "the Prophecies which the Jews allowed to refer to the advent of the Messiah," and particularly on the words, *The whole earth shall shout for joy*, he says, "The miserable Jews acknowledge that this is spoken of the presence of Christ; but they are stupidly ignorant of the *person*, though they see the words fulfilled.—*Quando enim terra Britanniæ ante adventum Christi, in unius Dei consensit religionem? When*, before the advent of Christ, did the *land of Britain* AGREE *in the worship of one God?* When did the land of the Moors, when did the whole globe at once agree in this? But now, on account of the churches

which are spread to the uttermost bounds of the world, the *whole earth, with rejoicing, invokes the God of Israel.*"—ORIGEN. Op. Vol. III. p. 370. From this it is evident, that the Christian religion had been, even before his time, planted in Britain; and at least in the districts best known to the Romans, it had pretty generally prevailed.

3. The next testimony I shall produce, is that of St. ATHANASIUS, taken from his *Apologia contra Arianos*, c. 1. written about A. D. 350, where, mentioning his trial before the council of *Sardis*, at which there were more than 300 *Bishops* present, εξ επαρχιων, Αιγυπτου, Λιβυης—Ιταλιας—Σικελιας, Αφρικης πασης, Σερδανιας, Σπανιων, Γαλλιων, Βρεττανιων· "from the provinces of Egypt, Libya—Italy—Sicily, all Africa, Sardinia, the Spanish, Gallic, and *British* territories." From which we find, that, in his time, there were churches in the British Isles; and their *Bishops* were of sufficient consequence to be cited to this grand and important council.

4. The last testimony which I shall cite from the *Ancients*, shall be that of St. CHRYSOSTOM, who flourished about A. D. 400. In his work, entitled *Oratio contra Judæos et Gentiles*, quod Christus sit Deus, Tom. I. p. 575. Edit. Benedict. after shewing that in a very short space of time, the knowledge of Christ crucified was diffused over the world, so that the heathen nations were converted to God, their own ancient laws and customs changed, and idolatry destroyed, so that Christian solemnities succeeded to Pagan mysteries, he adds these words: "In every place altars are erected among the Romans, Persians, Scythians, Moors, Indians, τι λεγω; υπερ την οικουμενην καθ' ημας, και γαρ αι Βρετανικαι νησοι, αι της θαλαττης εκτος κειμεναι ταυτης, και εν αυτω ουσαι τω ωκεανω της δυναμεως του ρηματος ησθοντο, και γαρ κακει εκκλησιαι και θυσιασηρια πεπηγασιν. What shall I say? even beyond our habitable world: for the *islands* of BRITAIN, which are situated beyond our sea, in the very ocean itself; have felt the power of the word: and even there, churches are built and altars erected."

5. A strong, and what I may consider an incontestible proof of the *fact*, that Christianity was established in these islands long before the time of Gregory the Great, and St. Augustin, who is improperly called the *Apostle of England*, is the accounts we have of different *councils* held here for the regulation of the affairs both of the church and state of Britain. I shall mention a few of the most considerable; and I shall mention them on the faith of our *monkish* historians, whose testimony will not be called in question by the adversaries of the *Protestant* religion :—

1. The *Verolamian*, or St. Alban's council, held A. D. 446, in order to repress the Pelagian heresy, which was then, by means of Agricola, one of the disciples of Pelagius, contaminating the British churches. This council is mentioned by most of our ancient civil and ecclesiastical historians; *Bede*, *Matt. of Westminster*, *Henry of Huntingdon*, and others.

2. The *Britannic council*, held A. D. 449, partly for the purpose of repressing the *reviving* Pelagian heresy; and partly to consider the incestuous marriage of king *Vortigern* with his own daughter.—Mentioned by *Matt. of Westminster*, *Nennius*, and others.

3. The *Cambrian council*, held A. D. 465, for electing *Aurelius Ambrosius* king of the Britons. Mentioned by *Matt. of Westminster.*

4. The *Britannic synod*, held A. D. 512, for electing *Theliaus*, bishop of Llandaff. Mentioned by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *Bale :*—who is not, in this fact, contradicted by his Popish adversary *Pits.*

5. The *British convention*, held A. D. 516; and composed, according to *Geoffery of Monmouth*, of all the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and clergy of Britain, for the coronation of king Arthur.

6. The *Menevensian synod*, held A. D. 519, against the remains of the Pelagian heresy, which had not been quite eradicated from Britain. This is mentioned by *Bale* and *Gi-*

raldus Cambrensis. These, and other councils and synods are mentioned in detail in the Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ, à Davide Wilkins, Vol. i. p. 1, &c.

I might add to this, that we are assured, that there were *three British bishops* present at the council of *Arles*, held A. D. 314. That there is good reason to believe that there were some present also at the council of *Nice*, held A. D. 325; and that there were several British bishops at the council of *Ariminium* (*Rimini*) held A. D. 359. See *Spelman*'s Concilia; and *Sulpicius Severus*, Hist. Eccles. b. 1. It is evident, therefore, that there was not only Christianity in Britain, at all these early periods; but, also, that there was a regulated church, with its bishops, who were thought of sufficient consequence to be summoned to foreign councils, where matters of vital importance to Christianity, were discussed and determined.

It would be easy to increase the number of such testimonies: no fact is better proved than that the British isles have received the Gospel of Christ from the very remotest Christian antiquity. Nor is there found any writer of credit from the first century downwards, who states that the *British* isles, *had not*, in his time, received the doctrine of Christ. I conclude, therefore, that the Gospel was established here, as early as even our *traditions* state; and, very probably, by the APOSTLES themselves; or by persons immediately deputed by *them*.

It would be wrong, however, to omit here, the account which several of our own writers give of the *mission of St. Augustin* to this country, about the year 597. Some authors would fondly persuade us, in opposition to all the testimonies already produced, that the whole nation was Heathen till converted by Augustin and his monks. This is the excess of absurdity—that there might be some districts where Heathenism prevailed in the time of Augustin, particularly among the Saxons who had subjugated several of the northern parts of Britain, is quite possible; and that the *Deïri*,

the people who dwelt between the *Humber* and the *Tees*, were such, may be granted; and that Augustin was the means of converting those Heathens, and others who were tinctured with idolatry, may be granted also: but, that *he* first introduced the Gospel *here*, is insupportable: because, contrary to the faith of history, regularly deduced through the lapse of several hundred years.

That Augustin prevailed on the British churches to receive several of the *forms* and *dogmas* of the Romish church, there can be but little doubt; and that a new species of *idolatry*, the *worship of angels*, *saints*, *images*, and *relics*, arose out of this, there is too much reason to believe; but that *he* was the *Apostle of Britain*, we most positively deny.

The best account on record, of *Augustin's* mission to Britain, we have in the *Saxon homily* of *Ælfric*, on the birth day of *Gregory* the *Great*, written about nine hundred years ago. The account is in substance the following, which I shall occasionally give in the *words* of Ælfric, making the translation as literal as possible, as it may be a matter of some innocent curiosity at least, to hear a little of the language of our forefathers; and to observe how like, in many respects, notwithstanding all our corruptions, it is still to the basis of our own.

Some time before Gregory was raised to the Papal chair, perhaps about A. D. 584, passing one day through the streets of Rome, he spied some beautiful youths exposed to sale: they were, says *Ælfric*, "white complexioned, and men of a fair countenance, having noble heads of hair." "Struck with their beauty, he enquired, *of what country they were brought? And the men said to him, that they were of England.*

"Gregory asked, whether the people of that country were *Christians* or *Heathens?* And the men said unto him that they were Heathens. Gregory then, fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his heart, said, *wel a way! (alas! alas!)* that men of so *fair* a complexion should be subject to the Prince of *Darkness*.

"He then enquired how they called the *nation* from which they came? and "*to him was answered, that they were named Anglè: then, quoth he, rightly are they called* Anglè, *for that they have the beauty of* angels, and therefore, it is fit that they should be companions of *angels* in heaven.

"Gregory enquired further, what *the shire* (or district,) *named was, that the knaves* (young men) *were led from?* And the men said, that the shire was named *Deiri*," (a part of the kingdom of the Northumbrians, between the *Humber* and the *Tees*.)

"Gregory answered, *Well they are called Deiri, because they are delivered (de irâ Dei) from the wrath of God, and called to the mild heartedness* (Mercy) *of Christ.*

"He enquired further, what is the name of the *king* of that shire? And he was answered, *that the king was named* Ælla: therefore, Gregory *alluded to his words in reference to that name, and quoth, it is fit that* hallelujah *should be sung in that land, to praise the Almighty Creator.*"

Gregory then went to the Pope, (Pelagius the 2d,) and begged permission to go and convert England: the Pope at first consented; and Gregory departed on his mission; but the people, with whom he was a great favourite, tumultuously assailed the Pope with, *Petrum offendisti, Romam destruxisti, quià Gregorium dimisisti.* "Thou hast offended Peter, thou hast destroyed Rome; for thou hast sent Gregory away." "The Pope was therefore, obliged to recal him, though he had proceeded three days on his journey; and *Augustin* was sent in his stead. See *Elstob's* Saxon Homily, p. 17, and the writers there referred to.

I shall not detain you with an account of this man's journies, preaching, and success; which are foreign to my point: but simply state, that allowing this story to be *true*, and the main facts I shall not question: I would just observe, 1. That Gregory might have been imposed on, by those *slave-dealers*, who might pretend that the people were Heathens, in order to lessen the enormity of their crime, in thus *stealing*

and *selling* their brethren: or, 2. As has already been remarked, the Saxons, in several districts, were Heathens; and there might have been some remains of Heathenism among others of the *Northumbrians;* from among whom, it is said, those young men came: but, 3. It is most likely, that though the mission of Augustin was *real*, the story of *Heathenism* was *invented*, or greatly exaggerated, to vindicate the pretensions of the Roman pontiffs, to have the spiritual domination over a people, whom they pretended to have first converted to the Christian faith; as Pope Adrian III. feigned the worse than Heathen state of the Irish, to give Henry II. A. D. 1154, authority to subjugate that kingdom, on condition that he might get a *penny* annually from every house in the Island; which money was afterwards called *Peter-pence:*—"et de singulis domibus *annuam unius denarii* beato *Petro* velle solvere *pensionem*."—See Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 10.

But, allowing the whole of this story without abatement, and that the *heathen Saxons* had nearly expelled the *British Christians* both from the eastern and northern parts of this kingdom; yet, that Christianity had never been extinct in this land, from its earliest introduction, a great number of historical monuments amply prove.

Again, allowing, also, the *slave-story* to be fact in every particular; and it is certainly told by grave and reputable authors; then, it is most likely, that the *slaves* were *Britons;* and the *slave-dealers*, the Saxons, who had some time before invaded their country, and brought them into bondage; then, it appears, that their exposure to sale by their oppressors, became the instrument of introducing the Christian religion among those ferocious invaders, who were so far *changed* by its powerful influence, as to become eminent afterwards among the nations of the world:—and to them and their successors, we owe the most *nervous parts* of our language; and some of the best of our civil laws, and the basis of our *charters of liberty*. But these are topics foreign to the object of the present address. Let the British colonists in the West

Indies emulate this example; and if they have been the means of bringing into a most unnatural bondage, a naturally free people, let them endeavour to compensate the services of their slaves, by the blessings of Christianity! What do I say? Let *them* rather learn from those very *slaves*, the knowledge of Christ crucified, which they have received, and are receiving, by means of English missionaries. Who is he whose heart does not burn within him to be the means of sending the Christ he loves, to them who have neither heard nor felt the power and salvation of his name; and whose lives are embittered by the cruelties of bondage.

From all that I have said, it will, I hope, fully appear, that we have received our religion from the *apostolic* times: and, most likely, by means of *apostolic missionaries:*—for the primitive disciples of our Lord received his command in the most *literal* sense, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature:* and my brethren in the ministry will pardon me if they think I carry things *too far*, when I say, that it is my conscientious belief, that the same command is still *binding* on *every minister* of *Christ;* and will continue to be so, while there is one district of the globe, howsoever small, unconverted to the Christian faith. And, if these things be so, should not every minister of Christ lay this especially to heart, when there is more than half a world, after all that has been done, on which the light of the Gospel of Jesus has not yet shined?

And if it be the *duty* of the *preachers* to carry the glad tidings of salvation to every part of the habitable globe; it is the *duty* of the *people* who know the joyful sound, and walk in the light of God's countenance, to *furnish the means* whereby the messengers of peace may be supported in their arduous undertaking.

It is true, that God must *open the door of faith to the Heathen;* and we should wait till we hear a voice, as in a certain case, saying, *Come over to Macedonia and help us!* But is not this *door* opened in different dark parts of Europe—in

Africa—in America, and the almost innumerable islands in that part of the globe? and, also, in Asia, where either *Paganism* of the worst species, or oppressive and degrading *Mohammedanism*, governs more than one fourth of the globe with an absolute and destructive sway.

The *call* from these different regions is not equivocal: it is clear, distinct, and strong. The harvest is *plenteous*—the labourers have hitherto been but *few*—too few in so vast a field! However, there *have* been, and there *are* now, *labourers*. Neither prejudice nor bigotry can shut *our* eyes against the labours and success of *others*.

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